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Factors Relating to Reconviction among Young Dublin Probationers

IAN HART

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IAN HART

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Summary

THE approach adopted was to test and follow up 150 young Dublin probationers to discover factors associated with relapse into crime. A separate group of 57 non-attenders at school were studied for comparative purposes. Fifty-eight per cent of the probationers relapsed into crime, 35 per cent being committed to an institution.

General Social Background

(1) Those with previous convictions were inclined to fail on probation.

(2) Probation offence was not related to personality or social factors or outcome.

(3) Social class was not clearly related to outcome but material poverty was, children from poor families tending to fail. More than one-third of the sample were from poor homes.

(4) Boys from central city areas (which were characterised by urban deterioration) were prone to fail, so also were boys from corporation flats.

Family Background

(1) One-third of mothers were working but boys with such mothers were not prone to fail.

(2) Few homes had been broken by the death of a parent but many children had experienced periods of separation from parents or parent figures.

(3) About two-thirds of the sample came from inadequate families, as assessed by Glueck ratings of maternal supervision, maternal discipline and cohesiveness of family. These were liable to fail. Family inadequacy was linked with a bad relation between parents and alcoholism on the part of a parent, usually the father.

(4) Although families were generally very large, family size had no effect on outcome. Family spacing had some effect, boys tending to fail where children were close to one another in age.

(5) Differences over discipline between parents were prognostic of failure. No case was discovered where both parents were too lax. Very few of the mothers had been firm but kindly. This subgroup had a high success rate.

(6) Mothers who themselves had unhappy childhoods were more likely to have sons who were complete failures on probation.

(7) The majority of boys had little real communication with their parents.

Personality

(1) Mean IQ was remarkably low, being 62 points. It had some bearing on outcome, boys of low IQ tending to fail. Poor attainment on English and Arithmetic was also predictive of failure. About one-third of the sample were illiterate in so far as they could not read the simple instructions on the front of attainment tests.

(2) Regarding perception of parents, almost two-fifths of probationers said it would have helped them to have seen more of their fathers. These boys tended to become complete failures. In about two-thirds of cases boys felt that discipline at home had been inconsistent and about the same proportion had experienced corporal punishment as the customary form of punishment.

(3) Probationers tended to be extraverted, neurotic boys, but the measure of extraversion employed did not predict outcome. Boys who showed withdrawing tendencies were likely to fail.

(4) Boys under 14 showed a marked tendency to respond aggressively to frustration but among the younger group the failures were those who tended to deny the feeling of frustration or who lacked a quality of constructive aggression. Among older boys those inclined to blame themselves in frustrating situations tended to fail.

(5) Although rejection of parental advice, as measured by a projective test, indicated failures, the expression of hostility to parent-figures indicated success. On another projective test, there was an indication that boys more aware of their need for love succeeded.

(6) Emotional disturbance characterised about one-third of the sample. These were likely to fail. About one-quarter had been previously assessed or treated at a child guidance clinic: these also were likely to fail.

School, Job and Leisure

(1) Most of the boys had been unhappy at school, about two-thirds feeling that a teacher had been too strict. Two-thirds had truanted more than once and two-fifths had been referred to an attendance officer.

(2) Four-fifths of the older boys had left school at 14 and many were in dead-end jobs. The older boys who were at technical or vocational school tended to succeed. This was so even when other important factors were held constant. Only about one-quarter of boys showed a definite and realistic interest in a trade.

(3) Although membership of a boys' club did not in itself make for success on probation, the boys who joined after placement on probation were likely to succeed.

Circumstances of Delinquency and Some Notes on Society's Response to it

(1) Most boys committed their offence in company but there was no evidence of tightly organised delinquent gangs.

(2) Boys with many delinquent associates tended to fail but those with a close friend delinquent were likely to succeed.

(3) Those who verbally regretted their offences tended to succeed. Few could say why they committed their offences and less than one-seventh showed signs of planning offences.

(4) More than half the sample admitted to undetected crimes. Where boys had escaped detection for a considerable period there was a tendency to fail on probation. Boys from poor homes and with low IQ's were not more readily caught.

(5) About one-quarter had been in the juvenile liaison scheme. These were usually low risk or middle risk cases.

(6) Most boys saw their probation officer less than one hour per month. Probation officers made more intensive efforts with a small high risk group but to no avail. Officers' case load seemed to have some bearing on results.

(7) About one-third of the sample made some allegation of police violence. There was no evidence from the rest of the results that these were lying or particularly anti-social.

Typologies and Theories of Delinquency

(1) Little support was shown for the behavioural categories of Hewitt and Jenkins—"socialised" delinquent, "unsocialised aggressive" and "unsocialised inhibited". There was, however, a significant link between parental neglect and the development of "socialised" delinquency.

(2) Gibbons's typology received no support in so far as it was tested.

(3) Boys with ambition but little ability were not more likely to fail than those without ambition or ability.

(4) Boys emotionally close to deviant parental models were more likely to succeed than those emotionally distant from such deviant models.

Factor Analysis and Multiple Regression

(1) Five types of deprivation were pinpointed, urban deterioration, personal maladjustment, educational failure, inadequate family, separation from parental figures. Most boys belonged in more than one group.

(2) Factors linked with reconviction among younger boys suggest that the following groups were at particular risk of failure—unaggressive boys and frustration-denying boys.

(3) At-risk groups among older boys were boys from inadequate families, boys with passive leisure interests, boys who wandered from home and who had

been attending child guidance clinics, and boys who were not overtly uncooperative but prone to furtive stealing and association with gangs and bad company.

(4) Most boys belonged in more than one at-risk group or did not belong in any.

(5) Prediction of outcome was more accurate when confined to particular age groups or categories of failure. The two most important variables in the prediction of failure for the total sample were family inadequacy (Glueck score) and previous assessment or treatment at child guidance clinic.

School Non-Attenders

(1) School non-attenders came from less disturbed families as measured by Glueck score, had less frequent contact with child guidance clinics and showed more constructive aggression.

(2) They had, however, a higher incidence of alcoholic parents than probationers.

(3) Some factors of diagnostic value with probationers were also useful with non-attenders. These included family inadequacy (Glueck score), poverty and a capacity for constructive aggression.

Summary of Recommendations

(1) The aim of delinquency-preventive programmes should be to give children and families a stake in the community. Such an attachment may be financial, educational or emotional.

(2) Urban renewal designed to reduce overcrowding, the wider provision of recreational facilities for children and a reduction in the degree of violence broadcast by the media would seem useful delinquency-preventive measures.

(3) Compensatory educational projects for deprived children like the Rutland Street Project should be developed and there should be scope in these for involving parents in the educational process.

(4) Children extreme in either birth-weight or duration of pregnancy should be followed up so far as is feasible by the Health Service.

(5) The effective financial support of delinquency-prone families would in some cases entail an arrangement whereby relief money be paid to the more adequate parent.

(6) Proper career guidance facilities should be made available to all children of 14 so that they would be able to make a realistic appraisal of the disadvantages of dead-end jobs.

(7) All educative agencies should seek to keep before parents the responsibilities involved in having children. Information on family planning resources

should be freely available. Those who wish to use contraception should be free to take responsibility for this.

(8) The local Health Board should set up a family casework service which, operating through community centres, would seek to foster more desirable attitudes to children in families at risk of delinquency. Such social workers would seek to influence the family *before* the need to remove the child from the home becomes paramount. In certain cases where no co-operation would otherwise be available, a legal order should be made requiring the family to receive a certain number of visits from a social worker.

(9) A system of Children's Hearings similar to that established in Scotland by the 1968 Act should be set up.

(10) A proper career structure and adequate training in social work, as emphasised by CARE, is badly needed.

(11) The State should consider adopting the California probation subsidy scheme which is estimated to have saved California $126,000,000 over a four-year period. This involves allotting a certain sum of money to the probation service for each case successfully kept out of an institution by the service.

(12) There should be a Children's Department to deal with all matters relating to the social education of children in each Health Board.

(13) Where primary prevention fails there should be a system of hostels and day-care centres available for children in conflict-ridden families.

(14) With seriously disturbed youngsters the whole social work approach must seek to enable the child to react *constructively* to his or her guilt feelings.

(15) Links should be fostered between police and boys in the context of youth clubs and similar organisations. Links should also be fostered between the police and such social work personnel as community health nurses.

(16) There should be experimentation with Community Service Orders requiring an offender to make restitution to the community through socially useful work.

(17) The juvenile liaison officer scheme should be extended in terms of the manpower and resources allocated to it. It should be possible for personnel to move up a promotion ladder within this branch of the Gardai.

(18) Psychotherapy should be a regular feature of institutions for delinquents.

(19) Key members of any project, institutional or otherwise, with a serious rehabilitative goal should have had a personal psychoanalysis and all members of the project intensive training. Those who intend to become seriously involved in rehabilitative work should be required to attend a course similar to the one-year residential training course at Kilkenny.

(20) The total therapeutic milieu approach advocated by Maxwell Jones and Sturup would seem to be very valuable in institutions for delinquents.

At the level of the general community, community organisations and affiliations have a definite role in preventing delinquency and in providing support and understanding (through organisations like the Simon community) for those who have been delinquent or maladjusted.

Introduction

THE primary purpose of this study is to throw light on the causation of further delinquency among a group of already delinquent boys. A wide range of measures and a sample sufficiently large for meaningful comparison of subgroups are used. The interplay of social and personality factors, for instance, vocational ambition and IQ, is explored. Theories of delinquency such as those of cultural deviance and thwarted ambition are examined, as are typologies of delinquents. The study aims at testing the effectiveness of various predictors of delinquency, both social and psychological. It does not aim at providing a predictive equation, for which construction and validation samples would each need to number about 1,000 (Simon, 1971), but seeks to identify the variables which should enter such an equation. It should be noted that the study is concerned primarily with the social and psychological antecedents of delinquency and only to a secondary extent with the part played by the legal system in deciding who is delinquent. We do not pretend therefore to survey all the factors making for delinquency and we hope in due course that this study will be supplemented by a similar study on the role of the police, the courts and the legal system generally in the context of delinquency.

The project began at a time when only six full-time probation officers worked in the Irish Republic. These were based entirely in Dublin and their work was not generally accorded sufficient recognition. The situation has improved since then with the recruitment of 41 additional officers and a greater emphasis on training. More importantly, there has been a marked increase in public interest about the causes and circumstances of juvenile criminality. This has come largely through the publication of the Kennedy Report on Industrial and Reformatory School systems (1970) and such reports as those of the National Youth Council ("Young Lives at Stake", 1971) and CARE ("Children Deprived", 1972). There has also been growing awareness of a rapid increase in all categories of offence (the number of recorded indictable offences doubled in the period 1960–1970) and the realisation that patterns of urban life may well lead to further increase. It is hoped this study will provide guidelines for distinguishing marginal or transitional young offenders from those liable to become habitual offenders as adults. If early treatment decreased the number of the latter, the problems of the penal system would become more manageable.

The rationale of this study is to examine social and psychological differences between boys who succeed and boys who fail on probation. It is felt that

probation constitutes for certain young people a watershed dividing those whose lives will flow in the direction of social adjustment from those whose lives will be marked by continuing problems of adjustment. Besides comparing successes with failures among probationers, we studied a group of boys who were in trouble for non-attendance at school. We felt that the significance of social and psychological factors in causing relapse among probationers would be more clearly established if it could be shown that such factors were also present, although to a lesser extent, among a somewhat less deviant group of youngsters. A psychoanalytic approach influenced our choice of test instruments, although as should be apparent, social and cultural factors are also considered. From the psychoanalytic viewpoint, our finding that the younger boys who relapsed seemed characterised by a tendency to direct aggression on themselves is, of course, extremely significant.

Methodology

Any study of delinquency encounters the difficulty of measurement. Such studies as those of Nye (1958), Hirschi (1969) and McDonald (1969) have shown the usefulness of self-report measures in exploring etiology. In such researches, the criterion variable may be the number of offences admitted to rather than the number of official convictions. West and Farrington's study (1973) shows, however, that those admitting a large number of anti-social acts are very likely to be officially designated "delinquent" and McDonald's study suggests a similar conclusion. Since conviction in general, and committal in particular, predispose towards further criminality, we have followed the McCords' (1959) example of defining delinquency in terms of officially recorded convictions. We have attempted in two ways to evaluate any discrepancy between officially recorded delinquency and the seriousness, in terms of violation of social mores, of misbehaviour. In the first place, probation officers were asked in about half the cases whether they thought their client had committed offences subsequent to placement on probation without being caught. Only 5 per cent of cases were suspected of having been involved in such offences. Secondly, since the court might be more inclined to commit a poor boy to an institution than his middle class peer for the same number of post-probation offences, such offences were divided into two categories; on the one hand, fines, suspended sentences and committals to a remand home for not more than one week, and on the other hand, all committals for a fortnight or more. Subjects sentenced in the first way were defined as partial failures, those in the second way, as complete failures. Table 1 indicates that complete failures were convicted of a significantly greater number of post-probation offences than partial failures. Less than one-third of complete failures had been reconvicted

TABLE 1: *Criminality by failure group*

Failure group	*Total*	*Number of post-probation convictions*					
		1	2	3	4	5	*Unknown**
Partial	34	25†	6	2	1	0	0
Complete	53	17‡	19	9	6	1	1

*In one case the number and nature of post-probation offences could not be obtained from the Criminal Record Office.

†Two cases involved fairly serious charges—one involved a series of housebreakings and larcenies (the boy had been committed but had appealed),the other involved personal assault.

‡Six involved fairly serious charges—three involved a series of larcenies and/or housebreakings, two were for the larceny of a large sum and one was for persistent school non-attendance which led to committal to St. Lawrence's Special School, Finglas.

only once compared with almost three-quarters of partial failures ($p < \cdot 001$, chi-squared test). Thus, complete failures had been convicted more often after placement on probation. Whether poor or not, boys with more than one post-probation conviction tended to get a more severe sentence. Mean length of time between placement on probation and first post-probation conviction was similar for partial and complete failures, being six months thirteen days for the former and seven months eight days for the latter. The greater criminality of long-term committals reflects a consistency in sentencing. Some 78 out of 87 failures were reconvicted by the same court that put them on probation—the Dublin juvenile court.

A longitudinal plan of research was adopted. Although this approach takes much more time than a cross-sectional, correlational study, it has two major advantages. It reduces the possible psychological effects of such variables as institutionalisation and it also reduces the effect on the interviewer of any knowledge of the subject's previous record. The sample was formed in the following manner. The Justice of the Dublin juvenile court, before placing a boy on supervised probation, would ask the parent in court, in most cases his mother, if she was willing to have him tested. It was usually mentioned that a study was being made to help solve the problem of delinquency. The parents invariably gave permission and the boy was given an appointment by the court clerk for testing at the administrative office of the probation service. This procedure was first implemented in December 1968 and maintained for a year with the exception of some periods when the usual Justice was not on duty. The court did not co-operate during the first part of 1970 and testing of probationers was not resumed until June of the year. Since the court would no longer consistently ask the parents for permission, a new procedure was established with the probation officers. These agreed to supply names and addresses of boys

recently placed on probation to them and the author then sought the parents' permission for testing. This was carried out at the boy's home, in an annexe to the juvenile court and at The Economic and Social Research Institute.[1] By June 1971, 162 boys had been tested. This represents about 43 per cent of the total placed on supervised probation for the period of testing. An additional 27 failed to appear for testing or refused to do the tests, or their parents could not be contacted, or refused permission. Most subjects were tested within three months of placement on probation, many within a fortnight. A few, less than a dozen, were not interviewed for five or six months. The co-operation of the boys was quite remarkable considering the lengthy and fatiguing nature of the tests, which, with the interview, took up a full morning or afternoon. Only one boy refused to carry on with the tests after he had started. The 14 per cent non-contact and refusal rate was low for a delinquent sample not a captive group and the 189 in the target sample represents about a half of all boys placed on supervised probation in the two years of testing. In the first year, some were missed when the Justice omitted to ask the parents for permission or when the regular Justice was not presiding. Some 24 boys were missed, for instance, in March 1969 because the regular judge was absent. In the second year of testing, boys were missed because the probation officers tended to give the names of those who had just been placed on probation, thus omitting some of the backlog of cases. Although the sample is not a random sample of supervised boy probationers, it is a sizeable proportion of that population and it was selected over a lengthy period which must reduce the influence of any seasonal fluctuation on the type of offender. The sample of 162 reduces to 150 when three boys who left the country shortly after testing and nine on whom a report was made to the court are excluded. In the interviewing and testing the general approach taken to the boy was that in helping the tester, he would be helping other boys on probation. Cases on whom a report was not made to the court were told at the outset that the particular results would be confidential. There follows a description of the methods of assessment. Non-psychologists may prefer to skip to below Table 2.

Measures Used

For each boy a minimum of 239 variables were evaluated for their bearing on outcome. The sample was assessed in the following way:

(*a*) An interview lasting about twenty minutes dealt among other matters with the boy's attitude to his former or present school, work experience, leisure activities and associates, the police, adults in general and criminal activities.

1. Two subjects who shortly after placement on probation had been convicted of fresh crimes and been committed were tested in their institutions. About a dozen subjects were tested at The Economic and Social Research Institute.

The number of siblings was ascertained as was the boy's sibship position and parents' occupational status. Information was sought on whether he had committed crimes on his own, whether he had suffered from asthma or migraine and whether he had ever been hospitalised or institutionalised. His plans for the future were investigated as were his views on the happiness of his life. Note was taken of any reference to heavy drinking, any physical anomaly or extreme of physical build. Boys were asked if they could give any reason for delinquencies. An impressionistic rating of the boy as socialised, unsocialised, aggressive or inhibited (using the Hewitt-Jenkins behavioural descriptions) was made at the end of the interview. At the end of the entire testing session, a prediction was made as to whether the boy would get back into trouble and a reason given for the prediction.

(*b*) The Delinquency Association Scale (Hart, 1970), consisting of 14 questions found to discriminate between institutionalised Irish delinquents and matched non-delinquents, was usually administered next.

(*c*) A non-verbal intelligence test, the Columbia Mental Maturity Scale (Burgemeister, Blum and Lorge, 1959),in which the subject is required to select the object which is "odd one out" (for instance the picture of a spoon among four forks), was given next. This test was chosen because it is not (at least directly) influenced by reading skill, it may be administered in under 25 minutes, it is often enjoyed by young people and has a very wide range of items for low levels of ability. A Wechsler intelligence test was not given because of the time factor and because there is little hard evidence that Wechsler subtest differences have clinical meaning (Cronbach, 1960, pp. 200–202).

(*d*) In about two-thirds of cases, where the subject could read and write, he was asked to do two attainment tests, one in English comprehension, the other in Arithmetic comprehension. These were abbreviated forms of the attainment tests, English 1967 and Arithmetic 1967, developed by the Department of Education for use with twelve and thirteen year old entrants to secondary school.

(*e*) A projective test, the Rosenzweig Picture Frustration Study (RPFS) (Rosenzweig, 1947 and 1948), was administered next, those under thirteen years eleven months receiving the Children's Form. The test consists of twenty-four cartoons showing situations in which an individual encounters an obstacle to the satisfaction of some need. The tester reads out what one person in the cartoon is saying and asks the subject to say how the frustrated person would reply. In a number of cases the subject was also asked to say how that person would feel. This test was used principally because it assesses responses to frustration in a quantified way. Since delinquents sometimes give intro-punitive (self-blaming) responses on the test (Bjerstedt, 1965), it was felt the test might pick up such tendencies among probationers and thus enable any link between such tendencies and recidivism to be examined.

(*f*) The New Junior Maudsley Inventory (NJMI) (Furneaux and Gibson, 1966) was next used. This consists of a number of personality-type items requiring a "SAME" or "DIFFERENT" answer. It yields scores on two variables, Extraversion/Introversion and Neuroticism/Stability, and contains a "Lie" scale. Scores on the last scale were expected to clarify the meaning of any anomalous scores (such as high intropunitive scores) on the RPFS. Scores on the first two scales would provide a test of Eysenck's hypothesis regarding the conditionability of delinquents.

(*g*) The last test given to all the sample was the California Test of Personality, 1953 Revision, Form AA (CTP) (Thorpe, Clark and Tiegs, 1953). Since it was expected that many subjects would be socially immature, the Elementary Form, which is usually given to subjects under 14, was given to those under 15, and the Intermediate Form to older subjects. The test consists of twelve scales, six relating to personal, six to social, adjustment. Individual items enabled a test to be made of the thwarted ambition or strain theory of delinquency. Scores on one scale made possible an examination of the Cloward-Ohlin (1960) thesis that membership of a delinquent group requires a certain social skill.

Subsamples received additional tests. A multiple choice version of the Thematic Apperception Test (OTAT—Objective Thematic Apperception Test) was used with 29 boys. The rationale for this "objective" version of the "tell-a-story" picture test is given in Conger and Miller's book "Personality, Social Class and Delinquency" (1966). This was not the only use made of the Thematic Apperception Test. At a later stage in the study the author came across evidence (Lyle and Gilchrist, 1958) that certain TAT stories could provide indications of delinquent status. These pictures were presented to the last 82 boys. It was hoped that the additional data from these subsamples would throw light on the meaning of projections made in the course of the RPFS.

Since the duration of testing varied between two and a half and four and a half hours, it was often necessary to divide the testing into two or three sessions. Where it was all done on the one occasion, a rest pause was usually introduced half way through. Subjects often became fatigued towards the end and the possibility has to be faced that the validity of their responses was affected. There is no objective way of knowing if this was so but it has to be noted that many of the CTP scales administered near the end produced no significant differences between the future successes and failures.Testing and interviewing were carried out entirely by the author, a psychologist, so boy's responses could not have been affected by differences between interviewers.

To gain objective knowledge of family circumstances, an interviewer visited the home of each boy. Her purpose was to assess the mother in terms of the Glueck Social Background Factors (Maternal Supervision and Discipline and

Cohesiveness of Family, Craig and Glick, 1964), to administer two scales of a personality test to the mother (Socialisation and Responsibility Scales of the California Psychological Inventory (Gough, 1964), to gain information on how the boy had reacted to probation and, generally, any information which seemed related to the development of delinquency. The California Psychological Inventory consists of a large number of YES-NO type questions which have proved valuable in identifying different non-psychiatrically disturbed groups in the North American population. The test has proved useful in discriminating social ascenders from social descenders among Dubliners. (Hart and O'Sullivan, 1970.) It was decided to assess mothers rather than fathers as they were expected to be both more accessible and more co-operative. Moreover, the latest version of the Glueck Social Background record is based solely on an interview with the mother. Mothers were contacted and co-operated in approximately 90 per cent of cases. Two female interviewers, both with social science experience, carried out this project which started in early 1970.

As a third source of information, the author contacted probation officers and sought from them details of their approach to each boy, the amount of time spent with him, their expectation of his future behaviour and reason for this expectation, the number of previous convictions (including those for school non-attendance) and the boy's age at first conviction. Information was also sought on whether the boy had been included in the juvenile liaison officer scheme. Finally, 37 probation, school attendance and juvenile liaison officers were asked to rate areas of Dublin for four crime related variables.

School Non-Attenders

During the five months of 1970 when subjects were not being referred from the court, the author took the opportunity to organise the interviewing and testing of 57 Dublin boys who had been referred by their school principals to attendance officers for having missed at least three days in the month of November 1969. These were selected by taking every second name from the lists of such non-attenders for three national schools which the attendance officers considered representative of national schools in the Dublin school attendance areas. Non-attenders were interviewed for impressions of attitude to school and teachers, family and peers, their interests and general disposition. Note was made of physical appearance, any obvious nervous symptoms and visual or aural difficulties. Subjects were then given the Delinquency Association Scale followed by the Columbia Mental Maturity Scale. Two attainment tests were given, the Marino Word Reading Test (O'Sullivan, 1970) and Schonell Essential Mechanical Arithmetic Test (F. J. and F. E. Schonell, 1950). The Rosenzweig Picture Frustration Study (Children's Form) was next administered and this was followed by the Objective Thematic Apperception

Test. The last test given individually was the New Junior Maudsley Personality Inventory. Since the IQ's obtained on the Columbia were very low, a check was made by administering a group test of intelligence, the Raven's Progressive Matrices (Raven, 1960).

As with probationers, an effort was made to gain background information on the subjects. Their teachers were asked to fill out for each a short questionnaire on the frequency of the boy's non-attendance and the reasons for it, his general ability and the use he made of it. The mothers were seen by one of the interviewers of the probationers' mothers and a rating was made of the Glueck Social Background Factors. The mothers were asked to complete the Socialisation and Responsibility Scales of the California Psychological Inventory and the California Test of Personality was administered to the boy himself. Finally, further information was gathered on the family from the relevant school attendance officer. About half the school non-attenders were tested by a psychologist, Mrs Bernadette O'Sullivan (at that time of the ESRI), and half by the author. With the exception of the attainment tests, Raven's test and the OTAT, the tests were the same as used with the general sample of probationers. Table 2 shows the number of the sample who received each test.

TABLE 2: *Probationers, non-attenders and mothers by number receiving each test*

Test	*Probationers*	*Non-attenders*	*Probationers' mothers*	*Non-attenders' mothers*
Delinquency association scale	All	All	—	—
Columbia mental maturity scale	All	All	—	—
English 1967	All	—	—	—
Arithmetic 1967	All	—	—	—
Rosenzweig P-F study	All	All	—	—
New junior maudsley inventory	All	All	—	—
California test of personality	All	47	—	—
Objective thematic apperception test	29	All	—	—
Thematic apperception test	82	—	—	—
Marino word reading	—	All	—	—
Schonell essential arithmetic	—	All	—	—
Raven's matrices	—	45	—	—
Responsibility and socialisation scales (California psychological inventory)	—	—	135	42
Glueck social background factors	—	—	143	50

The great majority of probationers were placed on probation for two years, one being placed on probation for three years and fifteen for one year. It should be noted that, like the non-attenders, they were a male sample, thus representative of the majority of young offenders. Table 3 gives their age when

TABLE 3: *Sample of probationers by age*

Age	*Number*	*Per cent*
Under 11	13	9
11	12	8
12	13	9
13	31	20
14	33	22
15	28	19
16	14	9
Over 16	6	4
	150	100

placed on probation and Table 4 the nature of their probation offences. The period of follow-up varied from one to three and half years. The great majority were followed up for at least two years. Testing was completed in early June 1971 and the first full follow-up was made with the co-operation of probation officers at the end of May 1972. It should be noted that the category of partial failure includes four boys who had been sentenced to an institution subsequent to placement on probation but who had appealed the sentence. Complete failures are made up of committals to an industrial school, reformatory,

TABLE 4: *Sample by probation offence*

Type of probation offence	*Number*	*Per cent*
(*a*) Personal violence	0	0
(*b*) Damage to property with violence (e.g. vandalism)*	22	15
(*c*) Damage to property without violence (e.g. shop-lifting) but excluding all cases of (*e*)*	49	33
(*d*) Loitering with intent	6	4
(*e*) Larceny of car or motor cycle*	15	10
(*f*) Combination (*b*) and (*e*)*	2	1
(*g*) Combination (*b*) and (*c*)* (e.g. housebreaking and burglary)	43	29
(*h*) Combination (*d*) and (*e*)*	2	1
(*i*) Any other combination or offence	11	7
Total	150	100

*These offences against property make up about 90 per cent of the sample's probation offences thus mirroring the usual proportion of such offences among the indictable offence group in Irish criminal statistics.

St. Patrick's Institution, Mountjoy Jail, St. Lawrence's Special School (Finglas), or for at least a fortnight to Marlborough House Detention Centre. The successful group contains a few boys whose parents were fined or rebuked in court for their sons' non-attendance at school and a few boys who were warned by the court for loitering with intent or for some breach of probation such as leaving home without permission. Convictions subsequent to probation for offences committed prior to probation are not classified as reconvictions. In no case did these result in a committal. Numbers in the outcome groups were as follows:

Success	*Partial Failure*	*Complete Failure*
63 (42%)	34 (23%)	53 (35%)

The proportion of failures, 58 per cent, is quite large when it is considered that for some subjects the follow-up period did not exceed one year.[2] In greater London in 1948 the failure rate among probationers was 30·6 per cent for men and 15·6 per cent for women (Middendorf, 1972). Failure rates of 44 per cent and 36 per cent for supervised probationers aged 17 to 20 are mentioned in a recent Home Office publication (Simon, 1971). The failure rate among the Dublin probationers does not, however, seem exceptional when it is considered that reconviction rates for juvenile parolees generally range from 43 per cent to 73 per cent in the United States (Arbuckle & Litwack, 1960). Nevertheless, the Dublin boys should not be as delinquency prone as parolees who have already been in detention. The results on social background in part suggest that supervised probation has been used in Dublin as a measure with youth who in other countries might be considered past the stage of probation. A further relevant factor may be the meagreness of the probation service provided for the Dublin boys but it will be shown that even where a relatively intensive service was provided (Table 29), the failure rate was high among high risk boys.

The basic assumption of this study is that human beings are not completely determined by their genes or by their environment but that neither, on the other hand, are they unaffected by such factors. A recent writer on crime (Matza, 1964) seems to imply that correlational studies of criminals suggest a determinist view of man as the plaything of variables such as intelligence, faulty relations with parents, membership of deviant subculture, etc. Yet studies which demonstrate certain regularities of event do not imply total determinism. We cannot conclude from a person's lack of freedom to behave

2. A minimum of one year's follow-up is enough for useful conclusions (Hood, 1967). The failure rate among the first half of the sample was higher than among the second half, the difference approaching statistical significance ($p < \cdot 10$). This indicates possible changes in the strength of predictive associations in future follow-ups.

otherwise than as he does in a given situation, that he lacks freedom in other situations. In this study we are concerned with those events and interactions which shape the characteristic strength of the attachment of a youth to the conventional order. It should be noted that the Failure/Success dichotomy is adopted not through any conviction of the ultimate importance of such a classification but because of the profound social consequences attaching to a boy's behaviour on probation.

The results dealing with probationers are divided into seven parts, general social background (including offence history), family background, personality, school or job and leisure, circumstances of the boy's delinquency and society's response to it, specific typologies and hypotheses, and finally, factor analyses and multiple regression equations. Part 8 deals with the sample of school non-attenders and Parts 9 and 10 aim at a general perspective with some suggestions on the management of the delinquency problem. A summary of results is given at the beginning and an appendix shows the predictive power of 54 independent variables.

Non-technical readers may find it useful to consult the general summary at the start of the paper and we have tried to indicate where the non-technical reader may find the material of little interest. The present paper is not meant as a book for the lay reader and for this reason we have omitted any general survey of the background literature.

Statistical Notes

Since a random sample was not used, the testing of means for significant differences is generally avoided. The non-parametric chi-squared test is used instead with Yates's correction in the cases of 2×2 tables. Fisher's Exact Probability Test is used for very small numbers. Product moment correlation coefficients were computed between reconviction and many of the independent variables. Since score groups on psychological tests were arranged in rank order for purposes of computer analysis, the coefficient obtained when correlating such scores against reconviction resembles the Spearman rank order correlation coefficient and is thus smaller than the Pearsonian product moment coefficient. Since the use of non-parametric tests and ordinal data reduces the possibility of detecting significant associations, we may be overlooking certain links. The associations which do appear as significant are, however, all the more noteworthy.

A further point which should be noted is that predictive validation is invariably a sharper test of a measure than concurrent validation. It is also possible that coefficients of correlation with outcome are lowered by restricted variance in the independent variables. To what extent probationers are

representative of other delinquent groups is largely unknown. Some comparisons are made with delinquent referrals to a Dublin child guidance clinic and institutionalised Irish delinquents. What is clear is that there is no certainty that predictive associations shown in the case of probationers would be greater for a sample of the general population, i.e. if we scored a general population sample on a three point scale—non-conviction, minor delinquency, committal.

Except where a hypothesis is specifically stated and a one-tail test mentioned, chi-squared and exact probability tests are two-tailed. Deviations from the null-hypothesis are considered significant if attaining the ·05 probability level. Deviations approaching this and attaining the ·10 level are considered evidence of some trend in view of the stringency, as noted, of a prospective study. Since a large number of variables is considered, a number would appear significantly related to outcome on a purely chance basis. To avoid capitalising on chance, associations are sometimes checked by looking for associations between similar variables within or outside the study.

We are not aware of any factors systematically biasing the selection of probationers by judge or probation officer. We are highly conscious, however, of the possibility that the 27 boys who were not contacted, or whose parents refused, or who themselves refused, were of more anti-social disposition than the remainder. The mothers who refused to be interviewed had a high proportion of complete failures among their probationer sons. This non-respondent bias, a characteristic problem of delinquency research, is discussed at some length by Hirschi (1969). His conclusion is that although "we cannot know what would have been without actually examining the cases not included in the sample . . . dismissal on the ground that the sample is known to be biased is not justified" (pp. 41–46). As he shows, the effect of non-response bias in his case is slightly to attenuate the observed relations. There is no *a priori* reason to suppose that inclusion of non-respondents would have weakened the observed relations. Reiss and Rhodes make the same point (1961).

Cross classifications of independent variables usually involve correlations between dichotomies. In the case of NJMI Neuroticism, English and Arithmetic comprehension, a 3 point scale is used; in the case of IQ and the CTP scales, a 4 point scale. Correlation of an independent variable with outcome, except where otherwise stated, involves the rating of outcome on a 3 point scale.

In the chi-squared Tables, a total chi-squared is usually based on each separate cell. However, some exceptions have been made to this rule. In Table 7 all failures are combined because of small numbers. In Tables 10 and 11, chi-squared tests have been made when one category was excluded to show a particular effect. Similarly, in addition to making a general chi-squared test, all failures have been combined in Table 16 to show a particular effect. To accommodate to a curvilinear effect, chi-squared tests have been made in

Table 19 and 20 based on the distinction between complete failures and the remainder. In both of these cases, the overall chi-squared was significant. In the case of Table 21, although the overall chi-squared was not significant, a chi-squared test was made based on the distinction between complete failures and the remainder: we do this to demonstrate the existence of a relationship similar to one observed in the junior version of the psychological test in question. In some other Tables, scoring categories of independent variables are combined because of small cell frequencies. In Table 14, in order to show the existence of an effect which neared statistical significance, scores have been combined in two different ways.

For the sake of brevity many Tables have been omitted. Tables showing the cross-classifications with reconviction of what would seem the more important independent variables are obtainable from the Librarian of The Economic and Social Research Institute.

Part 1

General Social Background

YOUNGER boys were slightly more likely to fail on probation but the trend was not significant. There was some link between previous conviction and failure ($p < \cdot 10$) and the number of previous convictions was linked with behaviour on probation: 92 per cent of those with more than two previous convictions relapsed while on probation compared with 60 per cent of those with one or two convictions and 51 per cent of those with no previous conviction. Age of first conviction significantly differentiated successes from failures. Slightly less than one-third of the 68 boys whose first conviction occurred before their thirteenth birthday succeeded compared with slightly more than half of those whose first conviction occurred when they were thirteen or over ($p < \cdot 01$). The proportion of first offenders in the group was 53 per cent and their failure rate was 51 per cent, quite a high rate when compared with the failure rates mentioned in the Introduction. Thus the high failure rate of the sample cannot be explained by the large number of previous offenders in it. No general relation appeared between type of probation offence and outcome.

When social and personality factors are considered, no variables were found which characterised type of probation offence, a result which supports the impression of Conger and Miller (1966) that offence is not clearly related to personality type but contrasts with the McCords' (1959) finding that there are such associations. In Part 6 some links are shown between overall offence histories and outcome.

Social class, estimating this on the basis of father's occupation, was not uniformly related to outcome, as Table 5 shows. Those in category 7 had a higher success rate than in category 6. In the "Lowest" class, Routine Manual, the success rate drops to less than one-third, however, and the complete failure rate rises to more than two-fifths. All this recalls Hirschi's (1969, p. 69) finding of a small relation between social class and a self-report measure of delinquency and also his finding of a link between a variable like family's welfare status and delinquency. Presumably, the explanation for the the low success rate in the Routine Manual group is that there are many multi-problem families in it.

Since social class was not significantly related to outcome, and since it was felt that material deprivation was probably so related, a separate criterion of material poverty was formulated. A family was considered poor if any of the four following circumstances was characteristic of it: more than 5 children under 14 unless father was an employed worker of at least skilled manual

TABLE 5: *Social class by outcome*

*Social class**	*Total*	*Outcome*		
		Success	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
1. Professionally qualified, Higher Administrative	0	0	0	0
2. Managerial and Executive	0	0	0	0
3. Inspectional/Supervisory (higher grade)	2	2	0	0
4. Inspectional/Supervisory (lower grade)	5	3	1	1
5. Routine grades—non-manual	1	1	0	0
6. Skilled manual	35	14 (40%)	11 (31%)	10 (29%)
7. Semi-skilled manual	39	21 (54%)	6 (15%)	12 (31%)
8. Routine manual	68	22 (32%)	16 (24%)	30 (44%)
Total	150†	63	34	53

Combining CLASSES 3, 4, 5 and 6, $x^2 = 7{\cdot}80$. DF = 4. $p < {\cdot}10$.

*This social classification is described in A. Oppenheim, *Questionnaire Design and Attitude Measurement* (London: 1966). The constituent occupations within each category were taken from lists prepared by Professor B. Hutchinson (ESRI).

†In some cases, the family's status could not be derived from the father's occupation as he was dead or missing. In these cases it was taken from the eldest son's or the mother's occupation, or, if necessary, from the father's original occupation.

status; two-thirds of total actually living at home unemployed, including father unemployed; more than two-thirds of total at home unemployed, except where father is at least of skilled manual status; father figure or both parent figures deserted family or boy reared in institution. Use of these definitions of poverty segregated what seemed to be a group of 55 extremely poor families. These definitions of poverty are stringent rather than liberal criteria and more than half the sample would have been placed in the poverty stricken group if moderately poor families had been included. Table 6 shows a close connection between material poverty, as defined, and failure or relapse on probation. It will be noted that the poor group contained a relatively large proportion of complete failures. Poor subjects were more likely to come from social classes 7 and 8 (forming 44 per cent and 46 per cent of those groups) than class 6, were somewhat more likely to have previous convictions, and significantly often had very early convictions, almost two-thirds of the score of boys first convicted before the age of 10 being poor. In contrast, the associations between social class and previous or early criminality did not near statistical significance. It should be noted that the criteria of poverty, considered together, provided

TABLE 6: *Poverty by outcome*

Poverty	*Total*	*Outcome*		
		Success	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
Present	55	16 (29%)	11 (20%)	28 (51%)
Not present	95	47 (49%)	23 (25%)	25 (26%)
Total	150	63	34	53

$X^2 = 11{\cdot}08$. DF = 2. $p < {\cdot}01$.

a better prediction of outcome than any of the criteria separately. Cross-classifications of poverty with family background and personality variables will be examined in Parts 2 and 3.

Table 7 shows a significant association between area of residence and outcome. Central city boys (those in categories 1 and 2) were more likely to fail, about half becoming complete failures. Central city areas were found to have marked criminogenic attributes when each area was evaluated by social workers (school attendance officers, probation and juvenile liaison officers) in

TABLE 7: *Area of residence by outcome*

Area	*Total*	*Outcome*		
		Success	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
(1) Central city	30	8 (27%)	7 (23%)	15 (50%)
(2) Other areas near Centre	23	8 (35%)	4 (17%)	11 (48%)
(3) East and North Wall	12	6 (50%)	2 (17%)	4 (33%)
(4) Ballyfermot	11	6 (55%)	2 (18%)	3 (27%)
(5) Crumlin and Drimnagh	15	10 (67%)	3 (20%)	2 (13%)
(6) Finglas	14	7 (50%)	2 (14%)	5 (36%)
(7) Cabra	11	3 (27%)	4 (37%)	4 (36%)
(8) Drumcondra and Whitehall	8	2	4	2
(9) Fairview, Clontarf and Dollymount	5	3	0	2
(10) Irishtown and Sandymount	6	6	0	0
(11) Milltown, Dundrum and Dun Laoghaire	9	3	2	4
(12) Raheny, Coolock and Donnycarney	6	1	4	1
Total	150	63	34	53

Combining Partial and Complete Failure, (9) with (10), and (11) with (12), $X^2 = 18{\cdot}54$, DF = 9, $p < {\cdot}05$.

terms of four variables found by the McCords (1959, p. 70) to distinguish "good" from "bad" areas. These were: delinquency rate, physical dilapidation, influence of gangs and lack of community organisation. As in the McCords' work these variables were rated by social workers for each child's home. "Delinquency rate" related to the crime level of the area, "physical dilapidation" to the number of unfit or overcrowded habitations, "influence of gangs" to the extent to which neighbourhood life was affected by socially disapproved gangs and "lack of community organisation" to the extent to which the area lacked organisations fostering civic involvement. As Table 8 shows, the central areas and Finglas were characterised by marked social pathology. For the former this might have been expected on the basis of Shaw and McKay's

TABLE 8: *Areas of residence by average ratings on 5 point scales for four crime related variables (high ratings indicating greater social pathology)*

Area	*Number of raters*	*Crime related variable*			
		Delinquency rate	*Physical dilapidation*	*Influence of gangs*	*Lack of community organisation*
Central City	6	4·8	4·2	4·2	4·0
Other areas near Centre	6	3·8	2·6	3·3	4·5
East and North Wall	4	4·0	3·0	3·5	3·5
Ballyfermot	8	3·3	2·2	3·1	3·5
Crumlin and Drimnagh	8	2·9	1·4	2·9	3·1
Finglas	5	4·2	2·8	4·2	3·8
Cabra	7	3·5	1·8	3·1	2·9
Drumcondra and Whitehall	4	2·6	1·9	1·7	2·7
Fairview, Clontarf and Dollymount	4	2·1	1·6	2·2	3·4
Irishtown and Sandymount	2	2·4	2·8	2·5	3·2
Milltown, Dundrum and Dun Laoghaire	2	3·7	3·0	3·0	2·8
Raheny, Coolock and Donnycarney	5	3·1	2·1	2·9	3·0

Note: The highest six in rank order of total score are—Central City, Finglas, Areas near Centre, East and North Wall, Milltown, Dundrum and Dun Laoghaire, and Ballyfermot. Social workers rated only the areas with which they were familiar. In all, 26 school attendance officers, 5 probation officers and 6 juvenile liaison officers provided ratings. Inter-rater reliability coefficients could not be computed as raters confined themselves to rating areas with which they were familiar. It should be noted, however, that there was a high degree of agreement about conditions in the city centre, 5 out of 6 raters giving it the worst possible mark for Delinquency Rate and the second worst mark for Physical Dilapidation.

study (1942), which suggests that the delinquency rate is highest in the city centre. Of the four crime related variables, gang membership rate had a significant bearing, and lack of community organisation some bearing ($p < \cdot 10$)

on outcome. In Part 7 it will be noted that a certain type of boy among the probationer group was characterised as "slumboy".

Variables like lack of community organisation were significantly linked with such variables as alcoholism in a parent and poor relationship between parents. It is noteworthy that in the case of alcoholic parents, probationers from areas characterised by above average community organisation had a significantly high success rate. On the other hand, adequacy of family, as assessed by the Glueck social background factors, had a significant effect among boys from areas lacking community organisation. Type of dwelling and overcrowding were analysed for bearing on outcome. Almost one-third of subjects lived in corporation flats and this group was significantly more likely to fail than the remainder. Overcrowding was considered present in 62 cases where there was definite evidence that more than two children slept in one bedroom, or a child (other than a baby) slept in the parental bedroom, or a kitchen or sitting room was used as a bedroom. Of those in overcrowded homes 39 per cent succeeded, compared with 44 per cent of the remainder, hardly evidence of a major trend. The lack of a significant association is all the more surprising in that boys from overcrowded homes scored high on important indicators of reconviction. Overcrowding was strongly associated with residence in a corporation flat ($p < \cdot001$), with age of first conviction (of the 20 convicted before their tenth birthday 16 lived in overcrowded dwellings) and poverty. In Part 2 the link between type of dwelling and maternal supervision is examined.

Part 2

Family Background

ONLY a small proportion of the sample, 13 per cent, came from homes broken by the death of a parent and this disruption of the home had little bearing on outcome. Proportions of fatherless and motherless boys (8 per cent and 5 per cent respectively) resembled similar proportions for Dublin in 1946, the last year for which comparative data are available. About 9 per cent had been reared in institutions for the first five years or had habitually lacked the presence of one (living) parent. Paternal unemployment, which ran at 17 per cent, was typical of the high level of male unemployment among Dublin manual working groups. It had no bearing on outcome. Exactly one-third of mothers were employed outside the home, about half of these having part-time employment. The proportion of working mothers recalls the author's previous finding of 30 such cases among 91 mothers of institutionalised delinquents (Hart, 1970, p. 191).Like paternal unemployment, maternal employment was unrelated to outcome. Its incidence among the probationer group is remarkably high, however, when we consider that an incidence of 14 per cent has been reported for Dublin married mothers in the manual working groups (Walsh, 1973, p. 43). Since the standard error of 33 per cent for our group is 3·8 per cent, there is evidence that maternal employment is related to delinquent behaviour among children. Among another group of anti-social children studied by the author (Hart and McQuaid, 1974), who had been referred to a Dublin child guidance clinic, the proportion with working mothers was 22 per cent. This proportion is high although not significantly so. When results on the Responsibility scale of the California test were considered, "working" mothers did not score characteristically low or high when compared with the general group. Such mothers were not more likely to have unemployed husbands but were likely to have absent husbands. There was some tendency ($p < \cdot 10$) for them to have smaller families.

Approximately two-thirds of probationers' families contained more than five children. The average family size clearly exceeded that for manual working groups as derived from the 1961 Census. Size of family was not, however, related to outcome. Average period between children did have some effect. Three-fifths of the sample came from families where the average period did not exceed two years. Only 36 per cent of this group succeeded compared with 51 per cent of the remainder ($p < \cdot 10$). The former boys significantly often came from poor families and families characterised by differences between

parents over discipline. Surprisingly, they more often saw their lives as happy. There was no link between a boy's ordinal position in the order of siblings and outcome; nor was there any significant tendency for boys occupying a particular position (oldest, youngest, etc.) in the sibship to experience a particular outcome.

Craig and Glick have shown that three of the Glueck Social Background Factors—Mother's Discipline, Mother's Supervision and Cohesiveness of Family—predicted criminality among six-year-old boys in a high delinquency area. These factors were originally identified by the Gluecks as differentiating 500 delinquents from 500 matched non-delinquents. In the case of maternal discipline, for example, 56·8 per cent of the delinquents as against only 11·7 per cent of the non-delinquents had lax mothers (S. and E. Glueck, 1960, p. 131). Ratings were made after interviews with the mothers. Ratings of probationers' mothers in terms of these factors were made by the two female interviewers and subsequently checked by the author who had information on the boy's and probation officer's perception of the mother. The interviewers were instructed not to consider any post-probation offences of the boy but, making allowance for age, to base their ratings solely on the criteria of Craig and Glick. For instance, in the case of mother's supervision of younger boys, the rater was asked to consider whether the mother was aware of where the boy was at all times, whether she knew and approved of his friends, whether in her absence there was a mature and adequate person responsible for his care, and whether the boy had been well supervised during any periods with relatives. Maternal discipline and cohesiveness of family significantly predicted outcome. In the small group of cases (only 14) where the mother was firm but kindly, 78 per cent succeeded. Success rates for other disciplinary categories were much lower; overstrict (20 cases), 45 per cent; erratic (62 cases), 35 per cent; lax (51 cases), 41 per cent. Of the 22 cases characterised by marked family cohesiveness, 64 per cent succeeded. Of the 83 with some cohesiveness, 42 per cent succeeded, and of the 42 with no cohesiveness, only 33 per cent succeeded. Maternal supervision had an almost significant bearing on outcome ($p < \cdot 10$). Of the 18 suitably supervised, 61 per cent succeeded, of the 40 with fair supervision, 53 per cent succeeded, and of the 88 with poor supervision only 33 per cent succeeded. When ratings were scored as in the Craig and Glick study (a factor's score indicating the extent to which it differentiated delinquents from non-delinquents, high scores showing greater maternal inadequacy and family disintegration), total score was highly predictive of outcome (Table 9). In terms of total score partial failures come between successes and complete failures. Referring to the Craig and Glick study, the proportions of probationers in low, even and high risk groups were, respectively, 13 per cent, 28 per cent and 59 per cent. Thus the Irish probationers were generally a very high risk

group, which largely explains the high reconviction rate. It is probably because the boys were high risks that the Glueck factors were predictive: these factors were originally standardised on a sample in which the delinquency rate was 50 per cent.

TABLE 9: *Glueck total score by outcome*

*Glueck total score**	*Total*	*Outcome*		
		Success	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
(*a*) Under 115	8	7 (88%)	0 (0%)	1 (12%)
(*b*) 115–192	40	25 (63%)	9 (22%)	6 (15%)
(*c*) 193–270	95	31 (33%)	22 (23%)	42 (44%)
(*d*) Not available	7	0 (0%)	3 (43%)	4 (57%)
Total	150	63	34	53

*Excluding (*d*) and combining (*a*) with (*b*), $X^2 = 14{\cdot}65$. DF = 2. $p < {\cdot}001$.
High scores indicating family inadequacy.

Glueck score was associated with a number of other variables. These were poverty, evidence of alcoholism in a parent (usually the father) and poor relationship between parents. With the last two variables, the association was highly significant ($p < {\cdot}001$). The Glueck score remains a very important predictor of outcome when combined with other predictors of outcome, as Part 7 shows. It will also be shown that one particular group of probationers were characterised by disturbed family backgrounds with high Glueck scores.

The quality of maternal supervision was not significantly affected by maternal working status, as Table 10 indicates. If, however, we exclude from considera-

TABLE 10: *Maternal employment by maternal supervision (where known)*

Maternal employment	*Total*	*Quality of maternal supervision*		
		Suitable	*Fair*	*Unsuitable*
(*a*) Employed full time outside home	26	3 (12%)	3 (12%)	20 (76%)
(*b*) Employed part time outside home	23	2 (9%)	6 (26%)	15 (65%)
(*c*) Not employed outside home	90	13 (14%)	30 (34%)	47 (52%)
Total	139	18	39	82

Combining (*a*) with (*b*), $X^2 = 3{\cdot}31$. DF = 2. p about ·21.
Combining (*a*) with (*b*) and excluding "Suitable Supervision", $X^2 = 4{\cdot}10$. DF = 1. $p < {\cdot}05$

tion those who received suitable supervision, a tendency is apparent for those with working mothers to receive unsuitable rather than fair supervision. Presumably those mothers who really were concerned about supervision provided this to an adequate degree, whether employed or not. Table 11 shows a similar picture in relation to residence in corporation flats, the major difference appearing between categories of fair and unsuitable supervision. A breakdown by number of children did not show that the association between flat dwelling and unsuitable (rather than fair) supervision was stronger in the case of larger families. When all three Glueck Factors are considered, a relationship emerged between maternal working status and Glueck score: "working" mothers show some tendency ($p < \cdot 10$) to score higher. This partly reflects the already noted trend to employment among mothers with absent husbands. Table 12 shows some link between poverty and Glueck score.

Poverty had an independent influence on outcome but this was statistically insignificant. In contrast, Glueck score significantly affected outcome in both the poor and the not so poor group. Where neither criminogenic factor was operative, the success rate was quite high, being 71 per cent. Two other

TABLE 11: *Residence in corporation flat by maternal supervision (where known)*

Type of residence	*Total*	*Quality of maternal supervision*		
		Suitable	*Fair*	*Unsuitable*
Corporation flat	44	5 (11%)	8 (18%)	31 (71%)
Other	102	13 (13%)	32 (31%)	57 (56%)
Total	146	18	40	88

$X^2 = 2{\cdot}69$. DF = 2. p about ·27.
Excluding "Suitable Supervision", $X^2 = 2{\cdot}75$. DF = 1. $p < \cdot 10$.

TABLE 12: *Glueck total score by poverty and outcome*

Glueck total score	*Total*	*Poverty evident*		*Poverty not evident*	
		Success	*Failure*	*Success*	*Failure*
Under 193	48	7 (54%)	6 (46%)	25 (71%)	10 (29%)
193 and over	95	9 (23%)	31 (77%)	22 (40%)	33 (60%)

Combining successes and failures in each poverty status group, $X^2 = 2{\cdot}73$ for association between Glueck total and poverty. DF = 1. $p < 10$.

variables were examined for their association with Glueck score-age of first conviction and number of children in family. No marked association appeared in the case of either variable.

Like evidence of alcoholism in a parent, a poor relationship between parents was notably predictive of failure. Some 93 boys were considered to come from families where the relationship between parents (estimating this by the degree of communication between them) was seriously inadequate. Table 13 shows a very strong link between quality of inter-parent relationship and outcome.

TABLE 13: *Quality of inter-parent relationship by outcome*

Quality of inter-parent relationship	*Total*	*Outcome*		
		Success	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
Good	55	33 (60%)	9 (16%)	13 (24%)
Poor	93	29 (31%)	25 (27%)	39 (42%)
No information	2	1	0	1
Total	150	63	34	53

Excluding "No Information", $X^2 = 27{\cdot}65$. DF = 2. $p < {\cdot}001$.

The quality of inter-parent relationship was strongly linked with the presence of alcoholism in the home ($p < {\cdot}001$) and with the amount of disagreement between parents on discipline of children ($p < {\cdot}01$). Where one parent had a drinking problem, the relationship between parents was usually poor and where there was disagreement on the discipline of children, the relationship also tended to be poor. Probable or obvious disagreement on discipline was noted in no less than 127 cases and was significantly predictive of failure. A typical pattern was that the mother feared to tell her husband about the boy's misdeeds lest he punish the boy too much. In some of these cases the mother had done her utmost to beat the boy into submission at an earlier stage but had failed and was now quite aware of her inability to punish him. Among some families there was an apparently tacit understanding that the mother would look after discipline. Since a number of such mothers were erratic in their discipline, the abdication of the father from a disciplinary role did not help matters. It is important to note that no case could be discovered where both parents were too lax. Thus in all boys there was probably some introjection of parental norms. Only 9 boys were regarded by their parents as having been

consistently difficult from an early age. There is evidence here for the existence of what Redl and Wineman (1957) described as weaknesses in the guilt-reducing mechanisms of anti-social children.

There was little communication between the majority of boys and their parents. In 54 per cent of cases, the relationship with the father was poor, in 58 per cent that with the mother was poor. In the latter respect, the probationers differed from school non-attenders who were likely to have poor relationships with father only. Quality of relationship with mother was associated to some extent with outcome ($p < \cdot 10$), those with poor maternal relationships being more likely to fail. Mother's score on the Responsibility scale was also of some importance, those with mothers scoring less than 30 points being more likely to fail ($p < \cdot 10$). Relationship with father, directly assessed, played little part in determining outcome although boys with alcoholic fathers had a poor prognosis.

Some 55 boys had been separated at some time for at least two months from their mothers or mother substitutes and 59 had had a similar separation from father figures. Among the many causes of such separation, one with a bad prognosis was placement in an institution. Of 23 boys who had spent at least one month in an institution (other than a hospital) prior to probation, only 5 succeeded and 15 (or 65 per cent) failed completely. This rate of complete failure was well above average but since many of the institutionalised boys had had more than one previous conviction, the institutional experience itself may not have led to complete failure. The factor analysis in Part 7 does suggest, however, that a certain small group within the probationers were distinguished from the others by virtue of having had a separation experience. Although it is not clear that institutionalisation in itself led to an increased failure rate, it is clear it did not lead to a reduction in the failure rate. Average age of first recorded separation from both parents (where a separation period of at least two months occurred) was about five years, although not much reliance can be placed on this information as it was gathered retrospectively. One father had clearly deserted his wife and three mothers had deserted husbands at time of interview. Three fathers were working away from home and three were in hospital, as were three mothers. Eleven boys had had lengthy stays in hospital. In addition to the 55 who had been separated from the mother, 8 more had mothers suffering from psychiatric illness. Thus some 63 boys may have had inadequate mothering. Since 19 boys had fathers who showed signs of excessive drinking but from whom they had not been separated, a total of 78 may have experienced inadequate fathering. It seems unprofitable to decide which parent was the less adequate. If fathers tended to have drinking problems (which afflicted 40 parents), mothers more often had other psychiatric problems (present in 20 cases and predicting failure at the $\cdot 10$ level). As the association between

alcoholism and Glueck score shows, there was a tendency for inadequate fathers to have inadequate wives. A strong tendency for poor homes to be rated (subjectively) as dirty and uncared for by the interviewer visiting the home was also noted ($p < \cdot 01$). This suggests failings on the part of both parents.

Many mothers painted grim pictures of their own childhood. A measure of their childhood experience was formulated from nine of the California Psychological Inventory items—Nos. 164, 168, 180, 336, 367, 396, 428, 439, 444. Typical of these items is No. 439—"The members of my family were always very close to each other". Scoring an item one point for an indication of childhood stress, and zero otherwise, mothers of complete failures scored significantly higher than mothers of partial failures and successes combined.[3] Thus there is evidence for the transmission of deprivation over at least two generations. Mothers' median score on Socialisation (prorated for 3 items) was about 34½ raw score points, a score which approximates the 18th percentile of the North American norm group and is probably only slightly below average for Dublin groups. (Hart and O'Sullivan, 1970.) Median score on Responsibility (prorated for one item) was about 28 raw score points, fairly average for a Dublin group.

Only 6 parents had been in trouble with the law during the five years prior to the boy's placement on probation. No investigation was attempted of parental criminality at an earlier period.

Conflict between siblings was noted in over one-quarter of cases but was not predictive of outcome. In 18 of these cases the probationer himself seemed to cause the conflict. For these 18 the success rate fell from 42 to 28 per cent but the difference is not statistically significant. There were 41 cases of a delinquent sibling (i.e. officially designated delinquent) and the prognosis was bad here, the success rate being only 24 per cent compared with 50 per cent for the remainder ($p < \cdot 01$). Quality of relationship between parents had a strong bearing on whether another sibling was delinquent: in 90 per cent of such cases, the relationship was poor. Type of disciplinary approach is considered in the next section which deals among other things with the boy's perception of his family.

Age of boy was significantly linked with Glueck score, quality of inter-parent relationship, poverty, social class, mother's Responsibility score and separation from father. On all these variables except the last boys under 14 were more deprived.

3. Mothers' perception of their own happiness at school did not relate to the outcome for their sons on probation.

Part 3

Personality, Intelligence and Attainments

TABLE 14 indicates both low intelligence generally (mean IQ 62 points, Standard Deviation 13·5 points) and some relation between IQ and outcome. Since the indication of the latter relation depends on the way in which score categories are combined, the relation is certainly not a strong one. The scores are remarkably low even in the context of the mean Wechsler Intelligence Scale IQ of 73 points for 99 institutionalised delinquents tested by the author (Hart, 1970) and a mean of 89 points for 126 Dublin voters (Hart, 1971) on the Cattell Culture Fair test. Performance on the Columbia test was significantly correlated with mother's score on Responsibility ($r = \cdot 30$), social status as rated by father's occupation, Glueck total score and area of residence. Scores on the Columbia would probably have been higher if the environment had been better. In the testing of school non-attenders it was noted that they did better on Raven's Progressive Matrices than the Columbia and that scores on the two tests were not associated to a statistically significant degree. The basic type of problem in the Columbia, finding the "odd one out" in a group of objects, seems very difficult for socially deprived youth. The poor performance on the test may, however, reflect a general verbal bias in Irish culture. Tests of comprehension in English and Arithmetic were used to assess academic attainment. These were abbreviated forms of the Department of Education's Attainments tests designed for entrants to secondary school. More

TABLE 14: *IQ by outcome*

IQ	*Total*	*Outcome*		
		Success	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
(*a*) 31–50	32	10 (31%)	7 (22%)	15 (47%)
(*b*) 51–70	86	35 (41%)	21 (24%)	30 (35%)
(*c*) 71–90	28	14 (50%)	6 (21%)	8 (29%)
(*d*) 91–110	4	4 (100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Total	150	63	34	53

Combining (*c*) with (*d*), $X^2 = 6 \cdot 11$. DF = 4. p about ·19.
Combining (*c*) with (*d*), and (*a*) with (*b*), $X^2 = 3 \cdot 34$. DF = 1. $p < \cdot 10$.

than a third could not read the simple instructions on the front of the tests and therefore could not attempt the tests. Of those who did, a large group had very low scores, the median score on English being 15·4 items, and on Arithmetic 7·9 items (15 minute time limits). Dichotomising English scores at 11·5 and Arithmetic scores at 5·5, it was possible to identify significantly distinct risk groups. For example, of those who were unable to attempt the Arithmetic or who scored below 5·5 on it, 66 per cent failed, whereas of those with higher scores, only 43 per cent failed. Scores on both tests were significantly correlated with mother's Responsibility score, social status of family, Glueck score, area of residence and poverty. The low attainment and intelligence scores suggest among other things the possibility of delinquency arising through a lack of conventional resources for attaining socially approved goals. The hypothesis will be tested in Part 6. For the moment, it will be noted that very few boys were quick or impulsive in their approach to these tests. Most performed slowly. There was little sign of impulsive extraverts, to adopt an Eysenckian perspective.

Delinquency Association Scale (DAS)

The Delinquency Association Scale made it possible to assess boys' perception of their homes. The most striking of these was the frequent perception that the boy would have been helped by seeing more of his father. This was expressed in 59 cases, whereas a similar opinion about the mother was expressed in only 26 cases. The perception of paternal lack was significantly associated with that of parental quarrelling. It is of interest that the fathers who were missed by boys were neither more nor less likely to have drinking problems. Thus some fathers with drinking problems were missed by their sons—what was objectionable to outside society was not sufficient ground for utterly destroying a boy's link with his father. Some 21 boys felt their fathers had not cared enough about them whereas only three said this about their mothers. There were 48 who said drinking had caused trouble at home and 38 felt their parents had quarrelled more than most parents. Here, in some cases, it was very clear from changes of answer that the questions highlighted a conflict for the boy between hostility and loyalty to a parent. The Thematic Apperception Test (requiring the subject to make up stories about pictures) was administered to 82 members of the sample when all other tests had been completed. Where the subject told stories about family rows, the author invariably asked him again about whether his parents had quarrelled a lot. In a number of cases, the boy changed his earlier answer, admitting they had quarrelled a great deal and that drinking had made more trouble at home. In 94 cases, the boy felt the discipline at home had been inconsistent, which recalls the findings in Part 2 about erratic discipline and parental disagreements over discipline. No less than 101

experienced, or had experienced, corporal punishment as the principal form of punishment. This recalls the high incidence of corporal punishment, 83 per cent, in the previous sample of institutionalised delinquents seen by the author. Among probationers, the success rate was higher among those who did not customarily receive corporal punishment but the trend is not statistically significant. Four more perceptions should be mentioned. Firstly, no less than 84 per cent said they would rather wriggle out of social difficulties on their own than reveal to their parents that they were in trouble. Some 90 per cent of the sample of institutionalised delinquents made the same answer. Secondly, running away from home characterised 31 per cent of the probationers, a significantly greater proportion than of the separate sample of school non-attenders. Of the institutionalised delinquents, 42 per cent had attempted this at some stage. Thirdly, more of the complete failures (63 per cent) than of the successes (48 per cent) said their parents had moved home at some time, although the difference was not significant. Since 73 per cent of the institutionalised boys had given this answer, there seems to be a tendency for families with seriously delinquent children to be more mobile. Fourthly, 68 per cent of the probationers admitted to serious truanting.

No DAS item significantly predicted general failure but some did predict complete failure. Complete failures tended to have experienced inconsistent discipline and also to feel they would have benefited from seeing more of fathers. Table 15 shows that the total DAS score had no significant bearing on outcome. These scores tend to lie between those of institutionalised delinquents and non-

TABLE 15: *Total DAS score* by outcome*

Total DAS score	*Total*	*Outcome*		
		Success	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
0–119	21	12 (57%)	7 (33%)	2 (10%)
120–239	52	23 (44%)	9 (17%)	20 (39%)
240–359	65	23 (35%)	16 (25%)	26 (40%)
360 and over	10	4 (40%)	2 (20%)	4 (40%)
Not available	2	1	0	1
Total	150	63	34	53

Excluding "Not available" and combining all scores over 239, $X^2 = 7{\cdot}30$. DF = 4. p about ·13.

*Scores are with two exceptions the same as those on p. 211, *The Economic and Social Review*, Vol.I, No. 2. In the case of Item 8, an answer of "Father", "Mother", or "Both" was scored 30·9, "Neither" being scored zero. In the case of Item 9, an answer of "Father", "Mother" or "Both" was scored 51·5, "Neither" being scored zero. The new scores are based on a re-examination of the original data. High scores indicate poor family relationships.

delinquent school boys, suggesting that probationers had experienced an intermediate degree of family stress, in so far as this may be quantified on a subjective basis. The lack of predictive power of the DAS for probationers cannot be attributed to the fact that it was formulated on extreme criterion groups, a defect in the construction of psychological tests, as Cronbach (p. 482) points out. The Glueck factors which also were formulated on groups occupying extreme positions on a scale of delinquency status had notable predictive value. A more likely explanation seems to be that the DAS questions were too emotionally loaded. A question such as "Did your parents quarrel slightly more than most parents?" requires considerable frankness for a clinically useful answer. One reason why the institutionalised boys previously studied by the author were more critical of parents than the probationers may be that their committal had weakened loyalties to parents. Age made no difference to DAS answers given by probationers.

New Junior Maudsley Inventory (NJMI)

Mean score on Extraversion was high, being 13·03 points or 0·9 points higher than the mean given in the manual for English youth.[4] The mean on Neuroticism was 8·69 points, also high, as it exceeds the norm mean by 0·7 points. Score on the Lie scale (a measure of the extent to which a subject's responses present a socially desirable picture of his personality) was low. Mean score was 6·76 or 1·30 points below the norm mean. Thus there is evidence that probationers, in line with Eysenckian theory, are high on both Extraversion and Neuroticism. From this viewpoint they are nervy, touchy boys who are outgoing and thus little affected by punishment. Nevertheless, neither Extraversion nor Neuroticism had any significant bearing on outcome, the overall chi-squared value lacking statistical significance. Neuroticism score, as Table 16 indicates, had only a slight bearing on outcome ($p < \cdot 10$). Thus Eysenck's view, that delinquents tend to be neurotic and extraverted, does not seem accurate in the case of extreme delinquents. The Rosenzweig results, which will be examined further on, suggest that although a certain number of boys reacted to frustration by directing aggression outwards onto others, those at greater risk of reconviction were not generally among this group. There was no significant association between Extraversion score on the NJMI and extrapunitive ego defence on either form of the Rosenzweig test.

Since it was possible that the factor structure of the NJMI would be different for the Irish population, a principal components analysis was carried out of

4. The standard error of the difference between means for Extraversion was ·26, for Neuroticism, ·32, and for Lie score, ·51.

TABLE 16: *NJMI neuroticism by outcome*

Neuroticism score	*Total*	*Outcome*		
		Success	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
0–3	8	4 (50%)	3 (38%)	1 (12%)
4–7	51	27 (53%)	8 (16%)	16 (31%)
8–11	55	21 (38%)	15 (27%)	19 (35%)
12–15	31	9 (29%)	6 (19%)	16 (52%)
Over 15	5	2 (40%)	2 (40%)	1 (20%)
Total	150	63	34	53

Combining scores 0–3 with 4–7, and combining all scores over 11, $X^2 = 5{\cdot}29$. DF = 4. p about ·27.
Combining all failures, $X^2 = 4{\cdot}63$. DF = 2. $p < {\cdot}10$.

the items and, as a result, two new scales formulated. The first, based on the first, unrotated, component, represents a new version of the Lie scale and is hereafter referred to as New Lie scale. It consists of NJMI items 14, 15, 24, 28, 32, 41, 47, 53. The second was a new version of the Neuroticism scale, consisting of items 6, 12, 26, 34, 37, 43, 50, 58 and 64. The New Lie scale significantly predicted outcome, those reconvicted tending to score over 3 points ($p < {\cdot}02$), if socially desirable answers are scored 1 point and other answers 0. There was thus evidence that those reconvicted were likely to paint a more rosy picture of themselves. They were more likely, for example, to say they always (or used always) keep order in class when the teacher was out of the room (NJMI No. 14). This tendency will be borne in mind when examining the Rosenzweig results. On the New Neuroticism scale, those reconvicted also scored significantly high ($p < {\cdot}02$).

A number of variables were strongly correlated ($p < {\cdot}01$) with the original Neuroticism score. IQ was negatively correlated, so was author's prediction as non-delinquent in the long term future, age of conviction (younger boys seeming more neurotic) and score on English comprehension test. CTP FREEDOM FROM NERVOUS SYMPTOMS was negatively correlated with Neuroticism ($p < {\cdot}001$). The fact that repeaters seemed somewhat more neurotic does not, of course, prove their neurological structures were defective. Nervous traits were probably affected by childhood history: there were significant correlations between original Neuroticism score and perceptions of undue parental quarrelling (DAS Item No. 10) and of having missed the father (DAS Item No. 5). The correlation with total Glueck score neared the level of statistical significance (p about ·06).

Confining our attention to the top third of scores on New Neuroticism, it was notable that Extraversion score did not significantly affect outcome. Thus Eysenck's view, that extraverts being harder to condition and thus less likely to respond to reward or punishment are more likely to be delinquent if they have strong emotions (high Neuroticism score), is not supported.

California Test of Personality (CTP)

This test which was given towards the end of the assessment session when the subject was likely to be tired produced only two measures of any predictive value. The test consists of 12 scales each of which contains 12 (Elementary Form) or 15 (Intermediate Form) questions. Six scales related to personal and 6 to social adjustment. In most cases the questions were read to the boy (as with NJMI), a few changes being made to suit Irish conditions. The sample had an overall average percentile rank of 30 on personal adjustment and 23 on social adjustment scales, both very low scores. The personal adjustment items produced the only measures of predictive significance. On the scale FREEDOM FROM WITHDRAWING TENDENCIES, successes did significantly better than failures (i.e. scored higher) in the case of the Elementary Form of the test. Using a cut-off score of 9 points, only 36 per cent of the 68 low scorers were successful compared with 58 per cent of the 31 high scorers. Thus, withdrawn boys, those likely to answer "Yes" to a question like "Have people often been so unfair that you gave up?", were more likely to fail. Although scores on this scale were not significantly linked with other measures of withdrawal such as the Rosenzweig impunitive score (to be discussed in the next part of this section), the finding that withdrawn boys among the younger group were more likely to fail is certainly in keeping with the main trend of results. On the Intermediate Form, successes also did better on the scale but the difference in score distributions was not statistically significant. When scores on both Forms of the test are combined, a significant link with outcome is still shown, as Table 17 indicates.

The only other measure in any way predictive of outcome was SENSE OF PERSONAL FREEDOM, an index of personal adjustment. Again it is the difference on the Elementary Form which is of interest. Using a cut-off score of 9 points, 53 per cent of high scorers succeeded, compared with only 33 per cent of low scorers. This difference does not quite attain statistical significance but the result is of considerable clinical interest in so far as it indicates a diminished sense of personal responsibility among future failures. The result accords well with the results on the Objective Thematic Apperception Test (also to be discussed shortly) which indicates that failures tend to derive their motivation from agents external to themselves.

TABLE 17: *CTP freedom from withdrawing tendencies by outcome*

Score	*Total*	*Outcome*		
		Success	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
0–2·9	12	6 (50%)	1 (8%)	5 (42%)
3–5·9	39	16 (41%)	10 (26%)	13 (33%(
6–8·9	52	14 (27%)	18 (35%)	20 (38%)
9–12·0	47	27 (57%)	5 (11%)	15 (32%)
Total	150	63	34	53

Combining all scores under 9, $X^2 = 8{\cdot}52$. DF = 2. $p < {\cdot}02$.

It should be noted that NJMI Lie scale score was not significantly correlated with score on FREEDOM FROM WITHDRAWING TENDENCIES. Thus there was no evidence from the Lie scale that boys were trying to give a good impression of themselves on the CTP scale.

Cloward and Ohlin have hypothesised that a certain degree of social skill is required for gang membership. Thus boys who committed the offence for which they were placed on probation in the company of others would presumably be more socially skilful. The relevant correlation did attain statistical significance but a similar correlation, that between social skill and possessing many delinquent associates, was not significant.

Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration Study (RPFS)

Rosenzweig's test analyses individual responses to frustration under two headings—direction of aggression and type of aggression. Direction of aggression is classified as extrapunitive when the frustrated person blames someone else for the frustration; intropunitive, when he blames himself, and impunitive when he avoids any show of aggression. Types of aggression are need persistence, where aggression is constructive and channelled towards a solution; ego-defence, where the emphasis is on maintaining self-esteem, and obstacle dominance where attention is simply focused on the presence of the frustrating obstacle. In Rosenzweig's formulation each direction of aggression is associated with each type of aggression, producing a theoretical total of nine subcategories. The method of the test is to show the subject 24 cartoons each picturing a person in a frustrating situation, frustrating either because of some block to his needs (ego-blocking), or because someone is reproaching him (super-ego-blocking) and he is shown in an incriminating situation. Two people are in each cartoon: one is shown saying something while the response of the other,

the frustrated person, has to be given by the subject of the test. The Children's Form of the test was given to those under 13 years 11 months, the Adult Form, which uses different situations and pictures adults instead of children, to older subjects. In each case the test was presented as a test of imagination and the author read out what one character was pictured as saying. Non-psychologists

TABLE 18: *Probationers and normative groups by response on the Rosenzweig picture-frustration study*

Kind of response	*Present sample*		*Norm sample**	
	Mean response frequency	*Standard deviation*	*Mean response frequency*	*Standard deviation*
(*a*) *Children's Form*				
Extrapunitive obstacle dominance	1·35	0·92	1·20	1·60
Extrapunitive ego defence	7·23§	2·60	5·50	2·50
Extrapunitive need persistence	3·92§	2·10	2·90	1·60
Intropunitive obstacle dominance and intropunitive ego defence†	3·76	1·25	5·70	
Intropunitive need persistence	0·82§	0·94	1·40	1·20
Impunitive obstacle dominance, impunitive ego defence and impunitive need persistence‡	6·95	2·57	7·20	
Group conformity rating	61·6%	8·86%	63·8%	9·00%
(*b*) *Adult Form*				
Extrapunitive obstacle dominance	1·66§	1·10	2·00	1·39
Extrapunitive ego defence	7·57§	2·88	6·60	2·98
Extrapunitive need persistence	2·18	1·41	2·00	1·29
Intropunitive obstacle dominance and intropunitive ego defence†	3·69	1·35	3·90	
Intropunitive need persistence	2·94	1·51	2·60	1·45
Impunitive obstacle dominance, impunitive ego defence and impunitive need persistence‡	5·94	2·39	6·40	
Group conformity rating	64·4%§	9·99%	68·0%	11·10%

*For the Children's Form the norm sample consists of 77 12 and 13-year-olds. For the Adult Form the norm sample consists of 236 males aged 20–29 years.

†These two kinds of response are combined because of the rarity of Intropunitive obstacle dominance responses.

‡These kinds of response are combined because of the difficulty of differentiating between different types of impunitive response.

§Using a *t*-test for significance of difference between means, $p < \cdot 05$. Where variances were significantly different,the significance of the *t* value was estimated by reference to a table of normal probability since as H. Walker and J .Lev point out in *Statistical Inference* (New York, 1953) p. 158, *t* values for differences between means of samples with unequal variances may be referred to a table of normal probability where samples number 30 or more.

may find the following section rather tedious and may prefer to skip to the summary of the results of projective testing.

Bjerstedt (1965, p. 512) mentions that Rosenzweig puts forward three possible explanations for high impunitive and intropunitive scores which, surprisingly, have been noted among delinquent subjects—"Rosenzweig points to several possibilities: (*a*) that delinquent subjects in the situation used might have been motivated to put up a good face on their responses (ideal-level response); or (*b*) that their delinquency was of the conformity type (gang conformity, overt response); or (*c*) that their delinquency was inspired by an unconscious sense of guilt (the intropunitive scores reflecting a covert need symptom)." It was hoped that using the test with probationers might clarify the role of self-punishing tendencies in the development of delinquency.

Table 18 shows how the sample compared with normative groups. On the Children's Form, probationers are high on extrapunitive ego defence, extrapunitive need persistence, low on intropunitive obstacle dominance and ego defence, and intropunitive need persistence. On the Adult Form, they are low on extrapunitive obstacle dominance and group conformity rating and high on extrapunitive ego defence. If tests are applied to these differences between means, significance levels beyond the ·05 level are apparent. Group conformity ratings (a measure of the extent to which the subject's responses resembled modal responses) were low on both Forms.

A breakdown of scores by outcome reveals the existence of different groups. In the case of the Children's Form, a predictor of marked significance emerges when all impunitive responses are combined (Table 19). Failures generally, and complete failures particularly, tend to be "impunitives". The correlation of ·40 between impunitive score and reconviction is highest among the predictive correlations for the young group. It is unlikely that the complete failures were, as Rosenzweig says, putting "a good face on their response" although

TABLE 19: *Impunitive types of reaction (denial of frustration response) on RPFS (Children's Form) by outcome*

Impunitive types of reaction Number of responses	*Total*	*Outcome*		
		Success	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
1–4·5	15	10 (67%)	5 (33%)	0 (0%)
5–8·5	31	8 (26%)	14 (45%)	9 (29%)
9 or over	19	7 (37%)	0 (0%)	12 (63%)
Total	65	25	19	21

Combining scores 1–4·5 and 5–8·5, $X^2 = 10{\cdot}39$. DF = 2. $p < {\cdot}01$. Combining successes with partial failures, $X^2 = 10{\cdot}37$. DF = 1. $p < {\cdot}001$.

there was a positive and significant correlation between impunitive and NJMI Lie score. This correlation occurred because of the tendency of a few very definite "impunitives" to gain high Lie scores. The correlation loses its significance when the top seven "impunitives" are excluded from consideration. When these seven cases are removed from Table 19, the association between impunitive score and complete failure remains significant ($p < \cdot 01$). The picture remains unchanged when the New Lie scale is used instead of the original scale. The second of Rosenzweig's suggestions, that delinquents with high intropunitive or impunitive scores are gang members, threw some light on the results in so far as it accounted for a tendency of recidivists to have high intropunitive ego defence and intropunitive obstacle dominance scores which were linked with score on CTP SOCIAL SKILLS. No marked association was found, however, between impunitive score and CTP SOCIAL SKILLS or such ratings as "socialised delinquent" and "many delinquent associates". As regards the high impunitive scores of recidivists, Rosenzweig's third explanation in terms of unconscious guilt, seems more apposite. Support for this view was forthcoming when clinical impressions of boys were examined. At the end of each interview the author made a prediction as to future behaviour and gave a reason for the prediction. In 39 cases such personality traits as impenetrability, emotional shallowness or lack of emotional involvement were mentioned. When two groups scoring at opposite ends of the impunitive scale (Children's Form) were examined for the number of times their members were described as emotionally distant, significantly more (62 per cent) of the 19 high scorers than of the 15 low scorers (20 per cent) were considered distant ($p < \cdot 02$). Evidence that those high on the impunitive scale tended to repress aggression comes from the strong negative correlation between impunitive score and extrapunitive need persistence, which was $-\cdot 48$. The only other variables significantly correlated with impunitive score were separation from mother or mother substitute, separation from father or father substitute and boy "not improved" (while on probation) according to parents.

Intropunitive obstacle dominance and ego defence score (combining the two reaction types) was significantly related to outcome, high scorers tending to fail, when scores were grouped in two categories (1–3·5 and 4–7·5). When scores were grouped in three categories, the significant association disappeared. Intropunitive score was significantly related to poverty, children of poor families scoring higher. As noted, the score was significantly linked with CTP SOCIAL SKILLS. Children who had quarrelling parents or who had had previous psychological assessments or whose mothers said they themselves had had unhappy childhoods scored significantly high on the intropunitive scale.

Extrapunitive need persistence had a strong negative correlation ($-\cdot 38$) with reconviction (Table 20) and it was also negatively linked with intropunitive

TABLE 20: *Extrapunitive need persistence (constructive aggression) on RPFS (Children's Form) by outcome*

Extrapunitive need persistence Number of responses	*Total*	*Outcome*		
		Success	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
0–3·5	37	12 (33%)	5 (14%)	20 (53%)
4–7·5	23	9 (39%)	13 (57%)	1 (4%)
8 or over	5	4 (80%)	1 (20%)	0 (0%)
Total	65	25	19	21

Combining all scores over 3·5, $X^2 = 20{\cdot}86$. DF = 2. $p < {\cdot}001$. Combining successes with partial failures, $X^2 = 16{\cdot}15$. DF = 1. $p < {\cdot}001$.

score. There was a curvilinear association with outcome as successes scored lower than partial failures. Other scores of the Children's Form significantly linked with reconviction were extrapunitive ego defence (incriminating situations only, $r = -{\cdot}36$) and group conformity rating ($r = {\cdot}29$). This measure of extrapunitive ego defence was strongly and positively linked with presence of father or father substitute, less strongly but still significantly linked with presence of mother or mother substitute. The variable was significantly and negatively associated ($p < {\cdot}001$) with intropunitive score. Its negative link with reconviction means that boys who gave an aggressive reaction in situations where the frustrated person was being reproached for an alleged fault tended to succeed while those giving a more passive reaction tended to fail. Since the incriminating situations involve accusing adult figures in 5 out of 8 situations, the passivity of the recidivists seems to extend to their relations with adults. The link between group conformity rating and reconviction indicates that boys giving conventional responses on the test as a whole tended to fail. Group conformity rating was significantly linked in a positive manner with intropunitive score. It was linked positively with CTP SOCIAL SKILLS whereas extrapunitive ego defence in incriminating situations was negatively linked with CTP SOCIAL SKILLS.

One further score of the Children's Form had a significant bearing on outcome, intropunitive need persistence on the incriminating situations only. Only 20 per cent of the group scored one or more points on this scale but 33 per cent of complete failures were in this category ($p < {\cdot}02$). This predictor of complete failure indicates that those subjects who offered amends for the situation of frustration, usually from a sense of guilt, were liable to get into trouble with the law again.

There was little evidence that the attempt to put a good face on one's responses led to high intropunitive scores. There was no significant link between intropunitive score and either original or new NJMI Lie score. Indeed, even if boys were trying to fake their responses to give a good impression of themselves, it seems unlikely that they would have been sufficiently sophisticated to guess that showing "constructive aggression" was, clinically speaking, a healthy response. Although as noted, extrapunitive ego defence scores on incriminating items were negatively linked with CTP SOCIAL SKILLS, scores on that variable were not linked with ratings of number of delinquent associates. Group conformity ratings, although positively linked with CTP SOCIAL SKILLS, were also not linked with ratings of the number of delinquent associates. It should be noted that neither impunitive nor intropunitive score was significantly associated with verbal expression of regret for offences.

Since there was a negative correlation between extrapunitive ego defence and impunitive score on the Children's Form, those scoring high on the latter tended to be low on the former. As the "impunitives" tended to be complete failures, the successes and partial failures were high on extrapunitive ego defence. Since, as Table 18 shows, the younger probationers were generally high on extrapunitive ego defence, the scores of successes and partial failures among the younger group were particularly high on that measure. The Children's Form thus discriminated two groups among the sample—the high extrapunitives who tended to succeed, or at worst, fail partially, and the average extrapunitives with high impunitive score, who tended to fail completely. Partial failures were more clearly differentiated from complete failures than were successes on the impunitive scale: there would seem to be another curvilinear relation here.

In Part 7 it will be clear how the most important predictive scores among the younger age group are taken from the Children's Form of the Rosenzweig test. When a factor analysis was done of those variables relating closely to failure among the younger boys, the three predictively most important factors each contained a score from the Children's Form of the test. Impunitive score had a negative loading on one such factor, extrapunitive ego defence (incriminating situations only) had a negative loading on the second factor while group conformity rating and intropunitive score had positive loadings on the third factor.

The only score of the Adult Form of the test with any bearing on outcome was intropunitive need persistence in incriminating situations. Those with high scores (who tended to offer amends in situations where the frustrated person was reproached) were somewhat more likely to be complete failures. Table 21 shows the association. This type of score was positively linked to a significant degree with psychiatric treatment of parent and negatively with extrapunitive

TABLE 21: *Intropunitive need persistence (offering amends from sense of guilt) on RPFS (Adult Form, super-ego situations* only) by outcome*

Intropunitive need persistence Number of responses	*Total*	*Outcome*		
		Success	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
0–0·5	7	3 (43%)	1 (14%)	3 (43%)
1–1·5	48	25 (52%)	9 (19%)	14 (29%)
2–2·5	23	9 (39%)	3 (13%)	11 (48%)
3 or more	7	1 (14%)	2 (29%)	4 (57%)
Total	85	38	15	32

Combining scores 0–0·5 with 1–1·5, and 2–2·5 with 3 or over, $X^2 = 4{\cdot}02$. DF = 2. p about ·13.
Combining successes with partial failures, $X^2 = 2{\cdot}70$. DF = 1. p about ·10.
*Nos. 2, 5, 7, 10, 16, 17, 19 and 21.

ego defence. There was no marked connection with score on either version of the Lie Scale. Similarly, there was no link with ratings pertaining to number of delinquent associates or to verbal expression of guilt for offences.

As in the case of Children's Form, successes and partial failures were very high on extrapunitive ego defence while complete failures scored slightly higher than average. On extrapunitive ego defence (incriminating situations only) and intropunitive score, failures resembled failures on the Children's Form but the differences between them and successes were not so marked. In the case of group conformity ratings, a trend opposite to that for the Children's Form was noted: failures or complete failures had a slight tendency ($p < \cdot 10$) to score below 62 per cent. The reversal of the association between conformity rating and outcome was hardly due to the somewhat greater affluence and family stability of the older boys as the positive relation between conformity rating and reconviction remains the same for younger boys with varying degrees of family disturbance or poverty. On the Children's Form, there was a slight link ($p < \cdot 10$) between a high group conformity rating and the rating of "over-inhibited" but this association was not evident on the Adult Form. Intropunitive and impunitive scores were not as in the case of the Children's Form related to poverty and separation from parent figures.

For those interested in individual item differences, it should be noted that Item 17 was the only item of the Adult Form to show a significant difference. This depicts a woman standing with a man beside a car and reprimanding him for having lost the keys. Complete failures frequently gave a response indicating that they took responsibility on themselves to find the keys. Successes and partial failures seemed much less affected by the woman's reproaches. In

the Children's Form, five items showed significant differences—Nos. 1, 10, 17, 18 and 20. The results on Item 1, which shows a little girl reaching into a cupboard being told by a woman that she had given "the last one" to the girl's brother, indicated clearly how the complete failures expressed less aggression. Table 22 shows the responses on this item of eleven complete failures and seven successes in a subgroup of 60 questioned about the feelings of the frustrated person.

When the variances of probationers' RPFS scores were compared with those of norm groups, four significant differences were observed. On the Children's Form, probationers showed significantly greater variation on extrapunitive

TABLE 22: *Responses and attributed feeling on Item 1,* RPFS Children's Form among two outcome groups*

Successes		*Complete failures*	
Response	*Attributed feeling*	*Response*	*Attributed feeling*
(1) When will you be getting more?	Sad	(1) It's all right	Doesn't mind
(2) You should have given it to me.	Unhappy	(2) It's all right	Doesn't mind
(3) Is there any more in the shops?	Wants to get more in the shops	(3) It's all right	Terrible
(4) (Would cry and say) you always give him one!	Sad	(4) It's all right.	Sorry, sad
(5) It was mine!	Angry	(5) Get some!	Bad
(6) All right.	Wouldn't feel anything	(6) It's all right.	Sad
(7) You should've given it to me!	Sad	(7) I'll get him another	She'll get something else
		(8) You left none for me!	Jealous
		(9) O.K.	Sad
		(10) He's gone home with it.	She'll get it from him.
		(11) Why didn't you keep it for me?	Sad

*Showing a girl reaching into a cupboard being told by a woman that she had given the "last one" to the girl's brother.

need persistence but less variation on extrapunitive obstacle dominance and intropunitive need persistence. On the Adult Form, they showed significantly less variation on extrapunitive obstacle dominance. The greater variation in extrapunitive need persistence on the Children's Form might be expected from the fact that although the overall mean significantly exceeded the norm mean, complete failures obtained quite low scores. The smaller variation on intropunitive need persistence is rather surprising in view of the low overall mean and the fact that complete failures obtained high intropunitive need persistence scores on incriminating situations. It should be noted, however, that only eight out of 24 items of the Children's Form involve incriminating situations and total intropunitive need persistence response was not related to outcome.

As regards trends among scores on the RPFS, it should be noted that in the case of the Children's Form complete failures showed significantly fewer trends of any kind than the remainder. Since complete failures did not gain high extrapunitive scores, this does not seem surprising. However, the absence of trends among the responses of complete failures was not repeated among the separate sample of school non-attenders: among chronic non-attenders there was no evidence of a general lack of trends in responses. The non-chronics were, however, significantly characterised by a trend to extrapunitiveness in the obstacle dominance and need persistence categories. Their trend to extrapunitive need persistence is surprising in view of research on RPFS trends (Rosenzweig and Mirmow, 1950) and seems to indicate a healthy aggressive reaction. The meaning of probationers' RPFS scores will be further explored through comparison with school non-attenders' scores.

Further Projective Tests

Two subgroups were given further projective tests. One, of 29 subjects, was given an objective or multiple choice form of the Thematic Apperception Test (OTAT). The subject was shown six pictures and asked to choose between five possible interpretations of each. The test would have been given to a greater number were it not for the fact that some subjects seemed to have trouble in remembering the various interpretations. The six pictures may be divided into two groups of three. One group attempts to measure projected response to parental pressure (Cards No. 1, 6BM and 7BM) and allows for such responses as rejection, withdrawal, hostility, acceptance and rationalisation. The pictures of the other group (Cards No. 8BM, 14 and 17BM) seek to assess the subject's source of motivation for achievement. Projected responses to the latter pictures were classified as self-intrinsic (e.g. "He wants to go to school just to be able to learn more"); other-intrinsic ("His parents want him to be a scientist to build a better world"); self-extrinsic ("He wants to be a doctor so that he can buy

the things that he wants"); other-extrinsic ("His parents want him to be educated so he can make a lot of money"); and withdrawal ("He's daydreaming about being a very famous doctor some day").

On the first group of pictures, complete failures were significantly more likely to reject parental advice but were rather less likely to express hostility to parents. Those who showed any sign of hostility to parents were significantly *less* likely to fail, an interesting sidelight on the high extrapunitive ego defence reactions of younger successes in incriminating situations. On the second group of pictures, failures were almost significantly higher than successes on other-extrinsic score ($p = \cdot 054$) while complete failures were significantly higher than the remainder on this. Thus complete failures tended to locate the control of achievement motivation outside the self and, moreover, tended to see achievement in material terms. The OTAT is a test that should provide very interesting results with delinquents of a certain age and intellectual level.

A second subgroup, numbering 82, were asked to make up stories about six TAT cards, Nos. 3BM, 4, 6GF, 12M, 13MF and 18GF. This subgroup consisted of the last 82 subjects—the author had not heard of the Lyle-Gilchrist study until testing was well under way. The pictures were presented as a test of creative imagination and given when other tests were finished. Because boys were in most cases quite tired by this stage the validity of the results is dubious. The probability that testing had reached a point of diminishing returns is indicated by the extreme brevity of many of the stories. In many cases these consisted of no more than five or six sentences.

Lyle and Gilchrist showed that the manner in which a youth organised a story indicated whether he was delinquent or non-delinquent. In their study non-delinquents were distinguished from delinquents by the psychological distance they put between anti-social impulses and their expression in action, using, for example, such anxiety-reducing techniques as denial, inhibition and rationalisation. Delinquent and non-delinquent indicators, as defined by Lyle and Gilchrist, were scored for the 82 sets of stories. So also were such themes as loss of loved object or person, sick or injured, and death. Lyle and Gilchrist found that delinquents rarely produced a theme relating to the loss of a loved object although they had in many cases lost a parent. In contrast, they significantly exceeded non-delinquents in the frequency with which they introduced a theme of sickness or injury. A rating of the death theme was made separately on the grounds that such an instinct would be stronger among the more seriously delinquent. This instinct, assuming the "censor" would not prevent the relevant material being expressed, might be reflected in a greater preoccupation with death in stories of failures or complete failures.

Scores and ratings were made first by another psychologist, then checked by the writer. Any modifications by the writer were made only on the basis of the

content or organisation of stories and not on any external criteria. The Lyle-Gilchrist criteria did not usefully discriminate outcomes: 47 per cent of those rated delinquent were successful, compared with 49 per cent of those rated non-delinquent. Examination of scores on the index of guilt for anti-social behaviour did not show more evidence of guilt on the part of successes. In contrast, it is notable among the general sample that 26 boys who expressed definite verbal regret for their offences had a significantly higher success rate (62 per cent) than the 62 who showed absolutely no verbal sign of regret (35 per cent). As in the Lyle-Gilchrist study, the presence of a theme about the loss of a loved object had a significant bearing on outcome. Table 23 shows

TABLE 23: *Loss of loved object or person theme in TAT stories by outcome*

		Outcome		
	Total	*Success*	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
Number of subjects giving theme	38	21 (55%)	6 (16%)	11 (29%)
Number not giving theme	44	18 (41%)	15 (34%)	11 (25%)
Total	82	39	21	22

$X^2 = 6{\cdot}45$. DF = 2. $p < {\cdot}05$.

this significant association. The result is difficult to interpret as it is the partial failures who least tend to give the theme. This may reflect their tendency to have had relatively few separations from parents but the Table certainly does not reflect the difference between successes and complete failures in terms of actual separation experience. For example, in their answers to the DAS, 32 per cent of successes said they missed their father and 21 per cent their mother, but 54 per cent introduced a theme about the loss of a loved object or person in their TAT stories. Of complete failures, 53 per cent said they missed their father and 19 per cent their mother, and 50 per cent produced the theme. The successes may have been more consciously aware of a loss of love. As regards the sick, injured theme, this was given by 67 per cent of successes, 57 per cent of partial failures and 55 per cent of complete failures. This is not a statistically significant trend. The number of themes about death produced a noteworthy difference. Failures as a whole were more likely to give such themes ($p < {\cdot}10$), the tendency being stronger for partial than complete

failures. All these TAT results must be treated with caution because of the circumstances of testing. If their validity is accepted, the Lyle-Gilchrist results are not necessarily invalidated. Lyle and Gilchrist compared delinquents with non-delinquents, not less serious with more serious delinquents. At the level of behaviour picked up by the TAT, non-delinquents may show more guilt than delinquents but less serious delinquents may not show more guilt than hard-core delinquents. If this is so, it seems surprising that successes more frequently expressed verbal regret for offences. The explanation seems to require a distinction between the type of guilt represented by conscious, verbal regret and that represented by a TAT rating or RPFS score.

Summary of Projective Test Results

One projective test, the Rosenzweig Picture-Frustration Study, produced scores which, among those under fourteen, constituted very useful predictors of outcome. One score, which indicated a bland, aggression-denying reaction to frustration, was notably predictive of failure. It is unlikely that the boys' responses on the Rosenzweig test were affected to any significant extent by the wish to give socially approved responses. It seems more likely that the aggression-denying reaction is linked with emotional withdrawal. Another response which tended to characterise recidivists could be described as the tendency to turn aggression on the self. This was linked with a certain level of social skill and with such variables as poverty and parental quarrelling. Results with a small group who were given a multiple choice form of the Thematic Apperception Test suggest a similar picture to that presented by the Rosenzweig data. Rejection of pressures from parents tended to characterise complete failures but the expression of hostility to parents was prognostic of success. Thus relapse on probation seems to be predicted by a condition of repressed hostility in the boy to parent figures. The third projective test involved six relatively unstructured pictures which the boy was asked to interpret by making up stories. This test was given to about half the sample. Successes and failures were shown to have a similar level of guilt although a prior study had shown that delinquents showed less guilt on the test than non-delinquents. Another result from this test was some indication that successes on probation may be more sensitive to the loss of love than failures.

Author's Prediction

Looking at our predictions for the immediate future in the case of each boy, 69 per cent of failures and 58 per cent of successes were successfully predicted, giving an overall success rate of 65 per cent. This is about 28 per cent better than chance (given the proportion succeeding) and resembles the accuracy of psychologists' predictions in the Mannheim-Wilkins study of Borstal boys

(1955). The accuracy of our predictions was a few per cent below that of the probation officers in the present study. Where we noted that a boy showed signs of emotional withdrawal (39 cases), the success rate fell to 26 per cent. Where we sought to describe a boy with a phrase like "basically friendly" (32 cases), the success rate was 64 per cent. It is probable that with the development of greater sensitivity to personal traits among young offenders, the accuracy of our prediction would have improved: accuracy rose from 59·5 per cent correct for the first half of the sample to 70·3 per cent for the second half without any feedback on the accuracy of particular predictions. This increase is worth mentioning because we had had considerable contact (dating from 1963) with young offenders before the study began. If we had continued testing, no doubt there would have been a further gain in accuracy of prediction.

Partial failures occupied an intermediate position on a scale constructed by assigning the score of 1 for the prediction "delinquent" and 0 for "non-delinquent". From the viewpoint of personality assessment they were thus an intermediate group. The fact that the intermediate group were partial failures rather than complete failures suggests the role of personality factors in determining the difference between a partial and a complete failure. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the decision of the justice or the boy's ability to avoid detection by the police were the only important criteria in deciding whether a boy was a partial or a complete failure. However, it is possible that a boy of withdrawn disposition might have been regarded as more "delinquent" by the justice or police than a more "amenable" boy.

Emotional Disturbance

All 6 cases with facial tics or stuttering became complete failures ($p = \cdot035$) and of the 10 with bedwetting behaviour after the age of three, only two were successful ($p = \cdot098$). The latter result recalls an earlier finding by the author (1970) that 25 per cent of a group of serious recidivists had this problem compared with seven per cent of a group of ex-institutional boys not reconvicted. Another finding pointing to the criminological significance of unconscious conflict is the tendency of most of the small group (13 cases) who spoke incoherently, having difficulty enunciating individual words, to become complete failures ($p = \cdot083$). Some five boys seemed to have poor eyesight or hearing. Another small group, six cases, had had asthma at some time and about 25 boys showed evidence of migraine. The presence of migraine was significantly associated with parental disagreement over discipline in the case of those under 14 but not among older boys.

Evidence of drug abuse was noted in only four cases, indicating either inadequate information about the boys or the absence of a drug problem among young probationers at the time of the survey. Heavy drinking (14 cases) bore

no marked relation to outcome, nor did boy's physical health, some 14 having been "delicate" when younger. Only seven boys had physical anomalies such as squints or obvious birthmarks. Ratings for body type bore no relation to outcome but, of 72 ratings made for distinct body type, no fewer than 51 indicated mesomorphic (muscular shoulders, chest and waist) build. This recalls the Gluecks' finding on the over-representation of mesomorphic body type among delinquents (S. and E. Glueck, 1950, p. 196). Since, however, no boy in the present study was rated as endomorphic (round, plump), the ratings may not be very reliable. They were based on the author's visual impressions only. Some 76 boys appeared as mixed types.

A variable strongly linked with reconviction was previous assessment or treatment at a child guidance clinic or hospital department of child psychiatry. Of 37 previously assessed or treated, only 22 per cent were successful, whereas of the remainder, 49 per cent were successful. Assessment or treatment does not seem to have been very effective although the boys involved were a more delinquency prone group if we are to judge from other indicators. The possibility also exists that most delinquent cases treated at clinics do not get into further trouble and thus do not become probationers. Only a follow-up of clinic cases can assess the effectiveness of clinic treatment. Although this group among the probationers did not have high Glueck scores, they were high on other indicators of reconviction. Among boys under 14, previous assessment or treatment was significantly linked with a small average period between siblings, boy's wandering from home, residence in corporation flat and psychiatric treatment of the parent. Among older boys, it was linked with boy's wandering from home and parental perception of lack of improvement while on probation. Poverty, as defined, was not associated with previous assessment or treatment.

Psychiatric disorder in terms of such classic Kraepelinian categories as schizophrenia and manic-depressive psychosis was not present in the sample. Yet there were many possible indications of emotional disturbance and a composite score based on these indications effectively predicted reconviction (Table 24). Score was based on the following items—described by parent as difficult from an early age (three years), psychological assessment or treatment prior to probation, unprescribed drug taking, heavy drinking, placement in special class or school for retarded at any time prior to probation, migraine, asthma, bedwetting after three years, facial tics or stuttering and score below 6 points on CTP FREEDOM FROM NERVOUS SYMPTOMS, Elementary Form (7·5 points, Intermediate Form). If each symptom of disturbance is scored one point and all those scoring more than one point are regarded as disturbed, the incidence of disturbance is 31 per cent. In comparison, Gibbens (1963) gives an estimate of about one-third mentally abnormal among Borstal boys. Field, Hammond and Tizard (1962) in a survey of thirteen-year-old Approved School

TABLE 24: *Emotional disturbance by outcome*

Emotional disturbance score	*Outcome*			
	Total	*Success*	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
0	63	32 (51%)	18 (28%)	13 (21%)
1	40	17 (43%)	10 (25%)	13 (32%)
2	31	11 (36%)	2 (6%)	18 (58%)
3	13	2 (15%)	3 (23%)	8 (62%)
4 or over	3	1 (33%)	1 (33%)	1 (33%)
Total	150	63	34	53

Combining all scores over 2, $X^2 = 20{\cdot}87$. DF = 6. $p < {\cdot}01$.

boys showed that about 40 per cent of their sample were severely maladjusted.

To conclude this section, it should be noted that the psychological test results suggested the existence of two further types of probationer—the boy whose low scores on the CTP social adjustment scales indicated a degree of social maladjustment, and the boy whose low scores on the IQ and attainment tests indicated defective endowment and/or the lack of a stimulating educational environment. As Part 7 shows, however, most boys were mixed types.

Part 4

School, Job and Leisure

PROBATIONERS tended to score very low on a test of attitude towards school, CTP SCHOOL RELATIONS. Their mean score on the ElementaryForm of the test approximated the 33rd percentile score for the norm group. Thus their average score was exceeded by 67 per cent of the American Standardisation sample. They were likely to feel that the children in the class would be happier if the teacher was less strict, to feel that some of the teachers "had it in for" particular boys, and that the other boys at school did not like the probationer as well as they should have. The boys attended a wide variety of schools, the largest number attending any one school being 15. Some strong criticisms were voiced of this school, Rutland Street National School. Older boys had even more hostile attitudes towards school, their mean score on Intermediate Form of the CTP test approximating to the 20th percentile for the norm group. Unhappiness at school was linked with anti-social tendencies and disturbed family relationships as measured by the relevant CTP scales, and with poor performance on tests of Arithmetic, English attainment, and also with NJMI Neuroticism. Large proportions of the sample had truanted more than once (68 per cent) or been referred to an attendance officer (43 per cent). Those who had been referred to an attendance officer were significantly likely to fail on probation. About two-thirds of the boys thought the teacher had been too strict with them and some 28 boys alleged a teacher had slapped too much. In 11 cases, a parent or probation officer blamed the school for a boy's delinquency, the typical complaint in such cases being that the boy got along fine after leaving school. Some 12 boys had been in trouble for breaking into the school they attended and 16 had committed their probation offence when truanting. There was some tendency for failures on probation to gain low scores on CTP SCHOOL RELATIONS but the trend was not statistically significant.

Table 25 contrasts outcome for those aged 14 or over who were attending technical or vocational school with that for employed and unemployed subjects. Since the non-school group of this age contained a relatively large number who had previously been in institutions, and the unemployed boys a significantly large number previously assessed or treated at a child guidance clinic, the link between further schooling and outcome was examined for non-institutional and non-assessed or treated boys. In general, the effect remained significant or nearly significant. Since such attenders were not from better-off or more

TABLE 25: *Technical or vocational school, employed and unemployed, subjects aged fourteen or over by outcome*

*Boy's Status**	*Total*	*Outcome*		
		Success	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
Technical or vocational school (full time)	14	11 (79%)	1 (7%)	2 (14%)
Employed	43	16 (37%)	11 (26%)	16 (37%)
Unemployed	19	5 (26%)	2 (11%)	12 (63%)
Total	76	32	14	30

Grouping all failures, $X^2 = 9{\cdot}63$. DF = 4. $p < {\cdot}01$.
*Only two aged 14 or over were at secondary school. Both were successes. Three 14-year-olds were on holiday from school and had not yet decided whether they would continue.

adequate families, their attendance at technical or vocational school did seem to make for a better outcome. It may be that the reason why attendance at technical school was a good augury was because it showed the family were prepared to make a sacrifice for the boy. Yet if this is so, it is strange that the Glueck scores of attenders did not significantly differ from those of non-attenders. Perhaps the Glueck score was too crude a measure of the family's motivation. On balance, it seems reasonable to conclude that attendance at technical or vocational school did have an independent, good effect on the outcome.

Table 26 lists boys' jobs at time of interview. A minority of each outcome group were apprenticed and the remainder were in jobs leading to depressed occupations characterised by high unemployment rates. Unemployment

TABLE 26: *Occupations at time of interview by outcome*

Outcome		
Success	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
Apprenticed (5)	Apprenticed (5)	Apprenticed (3)
Shop assistant (2)	Van boy (2)	Car park attendant
Machine boy	Timber-yard labourer	Helper, amusements arcade
Garage hand	Messenger boy	Milk lorry helper
CIE labourer	Nipper, building site	Labourer, printing firm
Lorry man's helper	Labourer, lampshade factory	Garage hand
Storeboy		Messenger boy (3)
Builder's labourer		Van boy
Van boy (2)		Junior usher, cinema
Messenger (for newspaper)		Shop assistant
		Nipper, building site
		Labourer, upholstery repairs

affected 43 per cent of non-school complete failures as against 21 per cent of the remainder. The difference fails, however, to achieve significance. Longest period at any one job was not related to outcome, about 6 months being the modal time. This result differs from the Mannheim-Wilkins finding (1955, p. 100) which showed that length of job tenure was related to subsequent adaptation among Borstal boys. Presumably the greater age of the Borstal sample made the variable of greater significance in their study. Attitude to employers, where obtained, was rated as friendly, mixed or unfriendly. Only two (both failures) seemed unfriendly. If these are disregarded, a significant relation appears between evincing a mixed attitude and success. Of 13 with a mixed attitude, no less than 10 (77 per cent) succeeded: of 51 with a friendly attitude, only 13 (25 per cent) succeeded. The significant difference cannot be explained by any difference in the constitution of the groups in terms of Glueck score, poverty or any other obviously important predictive variable. In view of the small numbers involved, the result may be a chance difference but it does recall the greater expression of aggression among successes and partial failures on the RPFS and OTAT. It should also be noted that the success rate was higher, although not significantly so, among those who alleged that a teacher had slapped too much, 50 per cent compared with 40 per cent of the remainder.

Only 35 boys expressed a fairly definite and realistic interest in a particular trade, 60 had a vague interest and 55 expressed no interest. Ambition measured in this way bore no relation to outcome, either for the general sample or those aged 14 or over. The theory that thwarted ambition leads to crime will be examined in Part 6. Boys with active rather than passive leisure interests were more likely to succeed but the trend was not significant. In only three cases did the interviewer record that a boy was unconventionally dressed. In no case was a boy described as "skinhead" or with very long hair. A reason why long hair was not evident may be that some got a "short back and sides" for appearance at the juvenile court and so had short hair at the time of interview. Table 27, showing membership of boys' and sports club or FCA by outcome, indicates that joining such an organisation after placement on probation is a hopeful sign. Since the success rate of those joining after probation significantly exceeds that for those with continuous membership, it is not the club itself which makes the difference. It is probably the case that boys who joined such an organisation after placement on probation were showing a willingness to listen to advice from probation officers. Such boys were probably more socialised than others. In only three cases were references made by a parent to a lack of local recreational facilities. This probably shows a lack of awareness among parents of the importance of such facilities: in Part 1 a tendency was noted for boys to fail in areas lacking community organisation.

TABLE 27: *Membership of boys' club, sports club or FCA by outcome*

Membership status	*Outcome*			
	Total	*Success*	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
No membership at any time or no information	67	24 (36%)	16 (24%)	27 (40%)
Membership since probation	16	13 (81%)	2 (13%)	1 (6%)
Membership at any time prior to probation	29	13 (45%)	6 (21%)	10 (34%)
Continuous membership	38	13 (34%)	10 (26%)	15 (40%)
Total	150	63	34	53

$X^2 = 12{\cdot}62$. DF = 4. $p < {\cdot}05$.

As regards church attendance, 24 out of 31 older boys questioned on this score indicated they attended regularly. This proportion, 77 per cent, is less than the proportion (95 per cent) of institutionalised delinquents who, in the author's earlier study, said religion was important to them. Regular church attendance was significantly predictive of success: of the seven who did not attend regularly, none was successful, whereas of those who did attend regularly, 46 per cent were successful. Church attendance may reflect religious devotion but also a more underlying factor of socialisation. The Irish probationers seem considerably more committed to formal religious practices than the training school delinquents reported on by the Gluecks in "Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency" (p. 166): of their boys 39·3 per cent were regular churchgoers.

Only one boy seemed to have treated animals cruelly. Some 33 showed a marked fondness for animals, a trait not associated with outcome. Eighteen boys were "going steady". These did not show any marked tendency to succeed despite the fact that some of the mothers thought a regular girl friend helped a lad "settle down". The number "going steady" was a notably small proportion of the total sample. Even allowing for casual contacts at dances, the degree of interaction with girls seemed low. This may represent a hitherto unremarked aspect of Irish working class culture among young people but may also be another feature of social maladjustment.

Part 5

Circumstances of Delinquency and Some Notes on Society's Response to it

More than five-sixths of the sample committed the probation offence in company with others but there was little evidence of tightly knit delinquent groups. There was no clear indication of gangs in which delinquent activity was an essential requirement for the performance of the dominant roles in the gang. This recalls Scott's finding (1956) that apprehended juvenile offenders who had committed crimes as part of organised gang activities were quite exceptional.

Both the variable "many delinquent associates" (i.e. most acquaintances having been convicted at some time) and "close friend delinquent" were significantly linked with outcome, although in different directions. Those with many delinquent associates were more likely to fail but those with a close friend delinquent more likely to succeed (51 per cent succeeding compared with 31 per cent of the remainder). The two variables have quite distinct patterns of correlation. Unlike "close friend delinquent", "many delinquent associates" was significantly linked with the perception that drinking made trouble at home, poverty, residence in the city centre and Glueck score. This contrast recalls Hirschi's statement—"given that one associated with criminals, the less *intense* one's association with them, the *more likely* one is to commit criminal acts" (1969, p. 152). It suggests the need for an elaboration of Sutherland's differential association theory (1966), that crime arises from mere association with criminals. His theory is also questioned by the finding that those who committed the probation offence alone were rather more likely to be reconvicted ($p < \cdot 10$). Another variable significantly linked with having delinquent companions was wandering from home, a behavioural pattern significantly predicting failure. There was some tendency ($p < \cdot 10$) for those with many delinquent companions to have spent more than one month in institutions other than hospitals prior to probation.

As noted, those who expressed verbal regret for their offences, when asked how they felt about them, were significantly more likely to succeed than those who expressed absolutely no regret. When asked to describe the circumstances of the probation offence about 10 per cent sought to excuse themselves by denying any guilty knowledge or intent, about 40 per cent said a friend or friends were primarily responsible or the temptation was too great, and the remainder were content simply to describe how the offence occurred. Boys gave evidence of planning the probation offence in only 21 cases, the general

impression tending to confirm Matza's opinion (1964) that young people drift rather than steer themselves into delinquency. There was no particular tendency for the planners to be reconvicted but there was a very slight tendency ($p = \cdot 14$) for them to have committed the probation offence in the company of others. In only three cases, did a boy describe his probation offence in such a way that one could presume a strong desire to be caught. This, of course, does not disprove the possibility of such a desire operating beyond conscious awareness.

When boys were asked why they committed the probation offence, the great majority did not, or could not, specify a reason. As might have been expected, the phenomenological approach of asking someone to explain why he had committed a disapproved act did not elicit much information. Sixteen boys said they stole to get money, about the same number said they had committed the offence from a wish for adventure and five boys gave both reasons.

Stott has pointed to the significance of a major emotional upset as a precipitating factor in delinquency (1950). Fourteen boys had had severe accidents during the two years prior to the first offence or caution and an additional 14 had been bereaved of a family member or had a sibling born to them after an eight year gap. Whatever about the traumatic effects of London's blitz, as Stott describes them, exposure to a single severe upset infrequently preceded the Dublin probationers' first officially registered offence or caution.

In 80 cases boys admitted to undetected offences, as Table 28 indicates. Length of time committing undetected offences had a bearing on outcome:

TABLE 28: *Period of undetected crime* by outcome*

Period elapsed from starting crime to first caution or conviction	*Total*	*Outcome*		
		Success	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
(*a*) Less than 1 year	11	5 (45%)	4 (37%)	2 (18%)
(*b*) 1 year and less than 2	19	8 (42%)	6 (32%)	5 (26%)
(*c*) 2 years and less than 3	14	7 (50%)	2 (14%)	5 (36%)
(*d*) 3 years and less than 4	10	3 (30%)	2 (20%)	5 (50%)
(*e*) 4 years and less than 5	0	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
(*f*) 5 or more years	8	0 (0%)	2 (25%)	6 (75%)
Unknown	18	8 (45%)	4 (22%)	6 (33%)
No admission to undetected crimes	70	32 (46%)	14 (20%)	24 (34%)
Total	150	63	34	53

Excluding "Unknown" and "No admission", and combining (*a*) with (*b*) and (*c*), and (*d*) with (*e*) and (*f*),

$X^2 = 6{\cdot}34$. DF = 2. $p < \cdot 05$.

*Excluding convictions for school non-attendance.

only 17 per cent of those who escaped undetected for 3 or more years before the first caution or conviction succeeded, compared with 45 per cent in the more rapidly detected group. There was no evidence that boys with higher IQ's were able to escape detection for longer periods. There was also no evidence that boys from poor homes in delinquency prone areas were more liable to be detected. These two results suggest that the official labelling process whereby a boy is seen as "delinquent" by society and officialdom did not bear more heavily on boys of low IQ or those from poor areas. One interpretation of Table 28 is that "getting away" with crime in the sense of not being officially detected may breed long term delinquency. Another, perhaps less plausible interpretation, is that seriously anti-social youth develop skills at an early stage which help them to avoid detection.

About one-quarter of the sample had at some time been placed within the juvenile liaison officer scheme. This group, unlike those seen by school attendance officers or at child guidance clinics, were not significantly likely to fail. They were, however, somewhat less delinquency prone than the other groups. Unlike those seen by an attendance officer, their families did not have high Glueck scores, and unlike those assessed or treated at a clinic, the proportion living in corporation flats was not particularly large.

This study was not designed to assess in a thorough fashion the response of society to delinquent behaviour. The emphasis has been on how social and psychological disabilities predispose children towards further crime. It would be unbalanced, however, totally to ignore the reactions of judicial and executive agencies as these must have some bearing on outcome. To begin with the Dublin Metropolitan Children's Court, it must be plainly said that the court building was generally unsatisfactory. There was no proper waiting room, only a dirty room with a couple of benches. There was no consultation room for lawyers and the cell was dark and windowless. The child had to stand for the duration of his trial even though there were usually vacant benches. Gardai had a habit of mumbling their evidence to the justice and the author often had difficulty in hearing what they said. Cases were listed for only two times during the day, i.e. for the morning or the afternoon session. Consequently those involved in a case might have to waste a full morning or afternoon if the case was not called. There was a long delay in hearing appeals against sentences, often of the order of four to six months. Basically, the main defect was that the justice who worked about a four and a half hour day hearing cases, five days a week, had to deal with about 15,000 cases in a year (16,586 in 1970). The justice thus had to deal with perhaps 5,000 children in the course of one year. There is obvious scope for three juvenile courts in the Dublin area or the equivalent in the form of Children's Hearings. As regards provision of free legal aid, the court should be obliged to inform the child and parents that he can

apply for free legal aid. It was the author's impression that many of those charged were not aware that they could gain such aid.

Table 29 shows degree of contact with probation officer by outcome. Since only five officers were involved, it is not surprising that the majority of boys were seen on average less than one hour a month. Degree of contact did affect outcome but the relation is curvilinear. The 15 cases seen most frequently had a very low success rate. These were frequently boys about whom probation officers were pessimistic. Officers made an extra effort with them but to no avail. Perhaps the officers' pessimism communicated itself to the boys. For the entire sample, officers' expectation of behaviour was strongly associated with outcome (r = ·36). As in the case of the author's predictions, there was a tendency to predict failure more accurately than success. The problem of "false-positives" seems more intractable than that of "false-negatives".

TABLE 29: *Amount of contact with probation officer by outcome*

Amount of contact	*Total*	*Outcome*		
		Success	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
Little—less than one hour a month	110	48 (44%)	25 (23%)	37 (33%)
Fair—about one hour a month	23	12 (52%)	5 (22%)	6 (26%)
Marked—definitely more than one hour a month	15	2 (13%)	4 (27%)	9 (60%)
Total	148*	62	34	52

$X^2 = 8{\cdot}34$. DF = 4. $p < {\cdot}10$.
*In two cases the boy got involved in further delinquency and was committed before the probation officer could contact him.

In 135 cases it was possible to form some idea of the approach taken by the probation officer. In 60 cases the officer provided advice and guidance while in 59 cases he or she took a more non-directive, informal approach. In 16 cases a mixed approach was taken. Schwitzgebel (1965) has shown that an informal approach was more successful with serious delinquents. No marked relation to outcome was apparent in this study when type of approach is broken down by score on the RPFS scales. There was some slight evidence (p about ·16) that the non-directive approach worked better with those older boys who gave many guilt ridden responses (high intropunitive need persistence score on

incriminating items of RPFS). The probation officers had difficulty in classifying their approach in terms of directive and non-directive categories, however, so it was not possible to make an effective assessment of different approaches.

In 25 cases the probation officer sent a boy for further psychological assessment after placement on probation. This does not appear to have been very useful as 13 of the group failed completely and 4 failed partially. Environmental manipulation was tried in a number of cases. This sometimes took the form of getting the boy into a school for slow learners. According to one officer, it was usually a successful measure. Other attempts to improve the boy's environment involved getting him to join a youth club. As noted, where the boy co-operated, the results were good. Another way in which officers sought to work with boys was by winning their confidence. When an officer stood up for a boy in court and thus saved him from committal, there was a rapid growth of mutual trust. With younger boys, help for the mother often had the same effect.

When success rates of officers are compared, the overall chi-squared is not significant (p about ·13). It should be noted, however, that one officer who had marked contact with probationers achieved a significantly better success rate than another with much less contact, holding constant the variable of poverty in the two groups.

About one-third expressed a favourable, and a similar proportion an unfavourable, attitude to police. Thirty-seven boys complained they had been hit by a guard and a further 12 that a friend or acquaintance had been hit. In 14 cases there were more specific complaints that the boy had been hit in a Garda Station and in 2 cases that an acquaintance had been hit while in the Station. Those who said that they or their friends had been hit were not significantly more likely to relapse on probation. They were significantly likely to dislike guards, not to seek to lessen their guilt for the probation offence, to show nervous symptoms (as measured by the CTP scale) and to have low social standards (assessed by CTP scale). There was no evidence from the Lie scale (original or new version) that such boys were lying.

Hostility to teachers was significantly linked with a suspicious attitude to the probation officer and less strongly linked ($p = ·061$) with the boy's perception that a parent had not cared enough for him. The boy's resentment about a relationship at home thus seems to have affected his relationship with the teacher. Variables associated with dislike of the police were probation officer's expectation of failure, residence in corporation flat or tenement, dwelling dirty or uncared for (as rated by the interviewer who saw the mother), a relatively large number of nervous symptoms and the complaint of having being struck by a guard. The fact that boys who disliked police were not more likely to fail on probation suggests that police bias against uncooperative boys was not a significant factor in determining failure.

Part 6

Typologies and Theories of Delinquency

Of the typologies of offenders that researchers have proposed it was decided to make direct tests of two, that of Hewitt and Jenkins (1946) and that of Gibbons (1962). This is in addition to a comparison of the recidivist groups which emerged from the factor analysis (Part 7) with those of Andry (1963). Hewitt and Jenkins' model was selected because it was relatively easy to operationalise, thereby avoiding the difficulty of distinguishing such types as "weak super-ego", "ego-weak" and "insensitive" from one another as in a model like that of Argyle (1961), and also because their model took account of the possibility of both sociological and psychological types. Gibbons' model was selected for examination because unlike the general psychological emphasis of this study, it focuses particularly on offence characteristics.

Hewitt and Jenkins' behavioural typology (1946) of delinquents (socialised, unsocialised aggressive and unsocialised inhibited) was examined by scoring boys on scales made up of appropriate items and correlating scores. The scale for socialised delinquency was as follows—rated as "socialised" delinquent (i.e. prone to furtive stealing and to association with gangs and bad company, not overtly very aggressive or uncooperative) at interview, parent blames bad company, boy wanders from home or sleeps out, many delinquent companions, close friend delinquent, ran away from home, ran away from home with others, truanted from school, truanted from school with others, and two items of CTP (Elementary Form, Nos. 78, 106; Intermediate Form, Nos. 121, 131). The unsocialised aggressive scale was based on these items—openly hostile to father, openly hostile to mother, sullen throughout interview, sometimes ferocious expression during interview, rated as "unsocialised aggressive", often disobedient to parents, sometimes cruel to animals, no sign of guilt over offences and eight items of CTP (Elementary Form, Nos. 97, 99, 101, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108; Intermediate Form, Nos. 122, 124, 126–129, 134, 135). The unsocialised inhibited scale was based on the following items—rated as "unsocialised inhibited", regarded by family member or probation officer as "loner", regarded by family members as easily led, committed probation offence alone, ran away from home on own, truanted from school on own and six items of CTP (Elementary Form, Nos. 25, 27, 109, 113, 115, 120; Intermediate Form, Nos. 35, 37, 38, 44, 136, 147). These are *ad hoc* scales but comparison with Hewitt and Jenkins' work will show the items in both sets of scales are very similar.

Scoring one point for each symptom present, the boys were allotted total scores on each scale. Socialised score correlated ·27 ($p < ·01$) with unsocialised aggression and ·23 ($p < ·01$) with unsocialised inhibition. Unsocialised aggression correlated ·34 with unsocialised inhibition ($p < ·001$). There is evidence for a general underlying behavioural type and the positive correlation between unsocialised aggression and unsocialised inhibition argues very strongly against any rigid division of disturbed children into categories of "acting-out" or "withdrawn", at least as understood by Hewitt and Jenkins. The inter-correlation between the scales is all the more significant in view of the possibly low reliability of the individual items of the scales. Excluding CTP items, only one of the three scales (that of unsocialised aggression) attained a Guttman Reproducibility score of ·9. When an abbreviated version of this scale (based on the first, second, third and fifth items listed above, Guttman Reproducibility ·9) was correlated with an abbreviated form of the unsocialised inhibition scale (second, fourth, fifth and sixth items above, Guttman Reproducibility, ·91), the relation was quite insignificant, the coefficient of correlation being only ·03. If symptoms of aggression and inhibition characterised distinct groups, there would have been a significant negative relation. As it was, a boy scoring high on the abbreviated aggression scale was no more likely to score low than high on the abbreviated inhibition scale.

Hewitt and Jenkins postulated that a specific type of upbringing was linked with each behavioural type—neglect and exposure to delinquent influences with socialised delinquency, overt rejection with unsocialised aggression and covert rejection with unsocialised inhibition. Scales were formulated for two upbringing patterns, neglect and overt rejection. Neglect was scored on eight items—maternal discipline overstrict or lax, maternal supervision unsuitable, sibling officially delinquent, dwelling dirty or uncared for, area physically dilapidated, boy rated as "socialised" delinquent, father perceived as lax by boy and parent shielding boy from law according to probation officer. Overt rejection was scored on five items—illegitimate pregnancy, adopted, raised in institution, father overtly hostile and mother overtly hostile. These two scales added one further significant correlation to the three already noted. This was between parental neglect and socialised delinquency ($r = ·23$). Since the rating "socialised" delinquent was part of both scales, the coefficient of correlation over-estimates the degree of association. It is about the only evidence in this study for the Hewitt-Jenkins typology. As regards reconviction, those scoring 4 or more points on unsocialised aggression (16 item scale) were significantly likely to fail.

Gibbons (1962) has based a typology of delinquents on four evaluative dimensions—offence type, whether the offence was committed in private or in company, self-concept and degree of anti-social attitude. The present data

allow specific testing of some of his proposals. He suggests that burglary and vandalism are acts rarely committed by the same young person. Examination of probationers' offence histories (relying on the boy's account rather than the court account) indicated that among that group who had committed more than one type of offence, 28 boys had committed both burglary and vandalism whereas only 16 had committed both larceny and vandalism and only 14 had committed both larceny and burglary. It does seem clear that burglary and vandalism frequently appear in the same delinquent's repertoire of offences. Secondly, Gibbons suggests that those who commit an offence alone are less liable to commit a serious offence or to repeat their offence. He would thus seem to ignore the possibility of such a category as the solitary, long term thief. As noted, those who committed their probation offence alone (21 cases of whom 19 were aged 14 or over) had a somewhat worse prognosis than the remainder. Moreover, of the 12 boys who habitually committed offences on their own, 9 were failures. Among the 12 true "loners" there were three persistent thieves and one persistent housebreaker. There would thus seem need of a category for a small number of persistent, solitary thieves. Thirdly, most of the probationers who stole took goods worth less than £50. Only one boy said he took more than this on any single occasion. Gibbons' typology does not include a category for repetitive minor theft. A defect of his model is that it overlooks the role of chance in deciding how much a thief gets away with. A handbag may be stuffed with fivers or not contain anything. Juvenile thieves, at least in Dublin, would seem more usefully considered in categories of persistent and occasional thieves, rather than in terms of major and minor theft.

Gibbons' suggestion that those with a delinquent self-concept are more involved in repetitive than occasional theft could not be adequately tested as not enough data had been gathered on the self-concept as Gibbons seems to understand this. It will be remembered, however, that the small group who planned their offences, and thus who might be said to have a delinquent identity, were not more likely to relapse on probation. His contention that occasional offenders have less anti-social attitudes *vis-á-vis* the police or employers is not fully borne out by the data of Part 5. It will be remembered that boys with mixed attitudes towards their employers were somewhat less likely to relapse. Furthermore, there was no link between a positive attitude to the police and success on probation.

In the present study the offence types (excluding post-probation offences) which seemed most useful were three—45 boys who had stolen less than three times, 30 who had stolen 3 or more times and 29 who had burgled enclosed premises three or more times. These three groups had, respectively, the following success rates—40 per cent, 37 per cent and 24 per cent. Those in the last group, who repeatedly burgled houses or shops, had a significantly worse

prognosis than those who occasionally committed larceny. This is largely because the chronic burglars gained higher Glueck scores ($p < \cdot 10$) and when Glueck score is held constant, the significant difference disappears. No less than 55 per cent of chronic burglars had been previously assessed or treated at a child guidance clinic, compared with 18 per cent of the occasional thieves. There was a relatively large number who confined their offences to burglary and apparently never committed larceny on its own: these constituted 25 of the 55 boys committing one type of offence only. Two-thirds of the sample, however, exemplified A. K. Cohen's point (1955) about the versatility of juvenile delinquents in their choice of delinquent act.

Hirschi (1969) examines three theories of anti-social behaviour, strain or thwarted ambition, cultural deviance and control. The results so far tend to confirm the control theory of delinquency, namely that delinquency will develop in the absence of attachments between socialising agents and child. We now examine data for evidence on the other theories. Strain theory states that delinquency arises not from "badness" or the "id" but from desires actually approved by society. These are the desires for the symbols of social success, for instance, a trendy car or fashionable clothes. According to the theory (as propounded for example by Merton, 1957) such desires lead to delinquent behaviour among those who cannot acquire such symbols by legitimate means. For them, there is what has been described as a disjunction between means and ends. This kind of explanation has often been proposed to explain the rise in crime that accompanies industrial growth. Where some individuals are seen to achieve sudden financial success, others lose sight of the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate ambitions. Since data were obtained on both IQ

TABLE 30: *IQ and level of ambition by outcome*

IQ and ambition	*Total*	*Outcome*		
		Success	*Partial failure*	*Complete failure*
Fairly definite and realistic interest in a trade and IQ below 71	22	10 (45%)	4 (18%)	8 (37%)
Fairly definite and realistic interest in a trade and IQ of 71 or over	13	7 (54%)	5 (38%)	1 (8%)
No fixed idea or no idea about vocational future and IQ below 71	96	35 (37%)	24 (25%)	37 (38%)
No fixed idea or no idea about vocational future and IQ of 71 or over	19	11 (58%)	1 (5%)	7 (37%)
Total	150	63	34	53

and vocational ambition, it is possible to test the "thwarted ambition" theory at the level of individual boys. Table 30 does not show that those in the "strained" category (those with definite ambition but low intelligence) are most likely to fail. The element of ambition seems to give them a somewhat better prognosis than those of low intelligence and little ambition. Intelligence had more to do with outcome than ambition and a significantly greater proportion of the higher IQ's had a definite ambition. Very similar pictures appeared when the interplay of ambition and scores on English and Arithmetic comprehension tests was considered. Those with ambition but little ability were about as likely to succeed on probation as those with no ambition and little ability. The blocking of legitimate aspirations apparently did not lead to further crime among probationers. It should be noted, however, that it is possible that the thwarted wish for some material symbol of social success, for instance, money, may have led to further crime among the group.

A test of "strain" as a subjective experience did throw light on why some were reconvicted. The test was based on a scale of four items from each form of CTP. Elementary Form items were—"Do you wish your father (or mother) had a better job?", "Does it make you feel angry when you lose in games at parties?", "Do you try to keep boys and girls away from your home because it isn't as nice as theirs?" and "Would you like to have things look better around your home?" Intermediate Form items were—"Do you often feel that you are not as bright as most of your friends?", "Have you found that people often fail to notice you?", "Do your friends seem to think your folks are as successful as theirs?" and "Do you feel that most people can do things better than you can?" A significantly larger proportion of the 43 boys aged 14 or over who showed more than one symptom of strain failed. Only about one-third of these 43 boys experienced a discrepancy between level of ambition and level of intelligence. Objective strain, in terms of a discrepancy between intelligence and ambition, was thus only one of the factors causing subjective strain. The fact that an awareness of personal inadequacy was predictive of failure among the older group throws doubt on Cohen's theory of reaction formation among delinquents. He has suggested that boys who feel that they are failures in conventional terms tend to repress awareness of their original attachment to conventional norms and substitute an attachment to unconventional, delinquent criteria of value. For instance, they come to value toughness rather than academic success. His thesis is that since the underlying sense of failure is constantly seeking to re-emerge in consciousness, the delinquent, in order to preserve his self-esteem, must keep reacting against the underlying awareness by consciously emphasising new values to himself. The present data indicate that if indeed the repeaters have repressed emotions associated with the original attachment (presumably by desensitising themselves in certain

personal relationships) and are reacting against it, they, nevertheless, are able verbally to acknowledge a sense of failure. Their reaction formation must be quite weak if mere questioning can elicit such responses. In the Freudian sense of reaction formation, that is, an unconscious barring of some material and facilitation of other, they do not have reaction formations. Their sense of strain indicates not just an objective discrepancy between means and ends but a Pauline sense of conflict between wish and action at a personal level. The ability of future failures to express a harshly critical sense of themselves is well illustrated by this self-description of a ten year old—"I'm a good for nothing lazy thing. I can't work without stopping every five or ten minutes. I can't write without stopping every thirty minutes. I can't read, write or spell. I'm a lazy thing."

Cultural deviance theories of delinquency have in common the view that delinquency is essentially a clash between different value systems. In this context, non-delinquents may suffer the same degree of emotional disturbance but have been brought up in a different value system than delinquents. At its most general, the cultural deviance theory holds that such signs of personal maladjustment as the denial of aggression in the RPFS are not, objectively considered, signs of disturbance. Similarly, a poor score on CTP FREEDOM FROM ANTI-SOCIAL TENDENCIES would not be regarded as showing anti-social tendencies in any objective sense but simply class related phenomena stigmatised by the ruling class. We are not concerned here with theory at that level. We test the theory in its sense that children emotionally close to deviant parental models will be more deviant than children less close to such parental models. Deviant parental models were considered to be: unemployed or work-shy fathers, alcoholic fathers, mothers scoring below the median on Responsibility and Socialisation, and mothers who agreed with the following item of the Responsibility scale—"It's all right to get around the law if you don't actually break it." In four comparisons a good relationship with a deviant model was linked with a higher success rate than a bad relationship. In one of these, the case of poorly socialised mothers, those closer to the mother were significantly more likely to succeed, as Table 31 indicates. In the fifth comparison, that concerning alcoholic fathers, success rates were exactly the same. Thus, although children with alcoholic fathers and irresponsible mothers tended to have high failure rates generally, a good relationship with such a model did not further raise the failure rate. Children who "learn" deviance from their parents would not seem to do so through simple imitation of an esteemed parent, as some cultural deviance theorists seem to hold. Although a father's general adjustment in society resembles his adjustment within the family (boys tending to have poor relationships with alcoholic fathers), those deviant fathers whose sons have good relationships with them must, to some extent, remain good fathers. The offender who does "learn" deviance from a deviant parent would seem to do

TABLE 31: *Relationship with mother by mother's score on CPI socialisation by outcome*

Outcome	*Relation with mother*			
	Poor or probably poor		*Good*	
	CPI score below 31	*Score 31 or over*	*CPI score below 31*	*Score 31 or over*
Success	4 (19%)	24 (43%)	7 (58%)	24 (53%)
Partial or complete failure	17 (81%)	32 (57%)	5 (42%)	21 (47%)
Total	21	56	12	45

so through identification with the aggressor in a Freudian manner. The integration of different age-levels of offenders, commonly supposed to be essential for the development of criminal subcultures, would not seem to entail any depth of relationship between young and old. The concept of monolithic, delinquent family subcultures is further questioned by the greater lack of cohesiveness among families with more than one delinquent child. Such families were also characterised to a significant degree by poor inter-parent relationships. Furthermore, in the previous study of institutionalised delinquents by the author, the personal aspirations of 42 boys were found to be of a remarkably "middle class" nature. According to themselves, the boys wanted to be obedient at home, intelligent, and good students. Their parents, apparently, had similar aspirations for them. At the level of conscious choice their values were pre-eminently middle class. They may well, of course, have been trying to give a good impression of themselves but this possibility exists whenever anyone is asked to state his values.

The fact that very few boys seemed to have been brought up within secure family groups where they were overtly taught to direct aggression against the middle class by no means vitiates the link between poverty and reconviction. This will be further examined in Part 7.

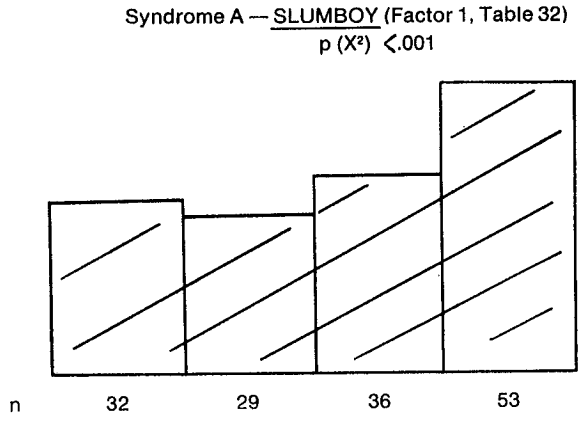
Part 7

Factor Analysis and Multiple Regression

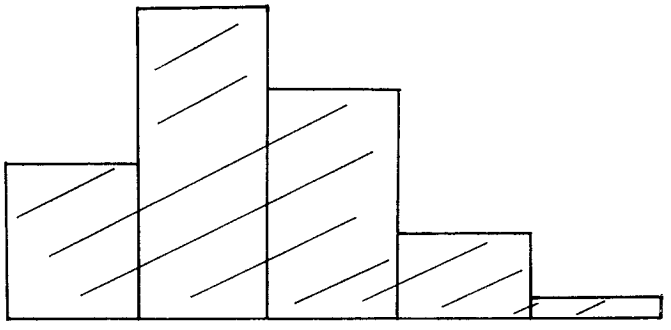
FIFTY-FIVE variables, which are listed in the Appendix, were factor analysed by the method of principal components. With the aid of a varimax rotation, an automatic procedure which concentrates the factor loadings either towards zero or towards unity whilst keeping the factors independent, five factors were obtained which accounted for a substantial part (36 per cent) of the individual differences on variables. Table 32 presents the loadings on the five factors of the twenty-three highest loading variables. One factor had seven variables quite heavily loaded on it, one had six variables, one had four and two had three variables each. These factors represent independent dimensions of each individual set of scores on the fifty-five variables and can be regarded as representing the following psycho-social indices: level of neighbourhood development (Factor A), level of boy's social adjustment (Factor B), boy's educational attainment (Factor C), cohesiveness of boy's home (Factor D) and degree of separation from parent figure (Factor E). When the high loading variables were classified according to their factor and three variables with relatively low loadings discarded from the first two factor groups, a principal components analysis was carried out on each group of variables. This process

FIGURE 1: *Distributions of Factor Scores**

*Categories represent standard deviations except in the case of Syndrome E where they represent semi-standard deviations.

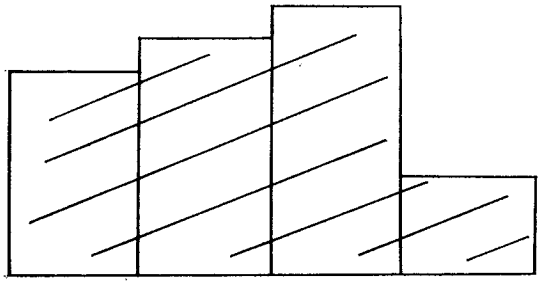


Syndrome B — SOCIALLY MALADJUSTED (Factor 2)
$p(X^2) < .05$



n	29	58	43	16	4

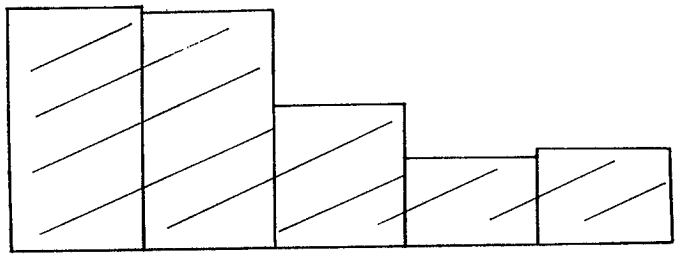
Syndrome C — EDUCATIONALLY RETARDED (Factor 3)
$p(X^2) < .01$



n	38	44	50	18

Syndrome D — DISTURBED FAMILY (Factor 4)

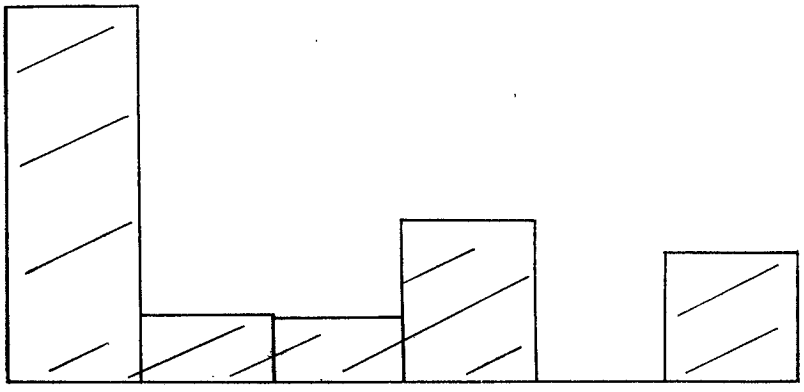
$p(X^2) < .001$



n	45	44	26	17	18

Syndrome E — SEPARATION EXPERIENCE (Factor 5)

$p(X^2) < .001$



n	71	13	12	30	0	24

TABLE 32: *Factor loadings of twenty-three variables*

Variable	*Factor* (rotated)*				
	A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*
Residence in corporation flat	·60	—·21	—·03	—·09	—·11
Physical dilapidation of area of residence	·78	·00	—·09	—·06	·00
Community organisation of area	—·85	—·03	·04	·04	·02
Gang influence in area	·80	—·07	—·09	—·04	—·07
Delinquency rate of area	·42	—·01	—·05	—·10	—·17
Total criminogenic rating of area	·87	·07	—·17	—·07	—·04
Area in or near city centre	·72	—·10	—·11	—·15	·04
CTP SOCIAL STANDARDS	·01	·42	—·19	·06	·05
CTP SOCIAL SKILLS	·02	·64	·08	—·06	·04
CTP FREEDOM FROM ANTI-SOCIAL TENDENCIES	·03	·76	—·06	·09	·04
CTP FAMILY RELATIONS	·07	·68	·13	·29	—·14
CTP SCHOOL RELATIONS	·15	·64	·23	·07	—·10
Perception of life as happy	·05	·36	·10	·19	—·15
English comprehension score	·14	·10	·82	·07	·04
Arithmetic comprehension score	·26	·09	·73	·02	—·03
IQ	·21	·14	·62	—·05	—·02
Absence of alcoholic problem in parent (objective rating)	·20	·12	·11	·68	·09
Good relation between parents	·15	·00	—·02	·60	—·03
Absence of boy's perception of drink making trouble at home	·04	·11	·03	·77	·04
Absence of boy's perception of parental quarrelling	·11	·12	—·07	·78	—·19
Longest separation from mother or mother substitute less than two months	·01	—·09	·01	·01	·87
Longest separation from father or father substitute less than two months	·09	—·02	—·12	—·07	·82
Longest stay in hospital less than one month	·13	·00	·29	·02	·56

*Loadings greater than an absolute value of ·35 underlined.

produced for each group of variables a general underlying factor.[5] The unrotated loadings on the general factor made it possible to assign a total cluster score to each subject. Each boy thus gained five scores indicating how closely he typified the pattern presented by each cluster. In Table 33 the loading of each variable on each relevant general factor is given.

TABLE 33: *General factors by constituent variables and variable loadings*

	Loading on first component
Factor (A)—LEVEL OF NEIGHBOURHOOD DEVELOPMENT	
Physical dilapidation of area of residence	·80
Lack of community organisation of area	·88
Gang influence in area	·83
Total criminogenic score of area*	·91
Area in or near city centre	·75
Factor (B)—BOY'S SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT	
CTP SOCIAL STANDARDS	·52
CTP SOCIAL SKILLS	·66
CTP FREEDOM FROM ANTI-SOCIAL TENDENCIES	·78
CTP FAMILY RELATIONS	·73
CTP SCHOOL RELATIONS	·68
Factor (C)—BOY'S EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT	
English comprehension score	·93
Arithmetic comprehension score	·91
IQ	·74
Factor (D)—COHESIVENESS OF HOME	
Alcoholic problem in parent (objective rating)	·70
Poor relation between parents (objective rating)	·74
Boy's perception of parental quarrelling	·85
Boy's perception that drink made trouble at home	·76
Factor (E)—DEGREE OF SEPARATION FROM PARENT FIGURE	
Separation from mother or mother substitute for two months or more	·91
Separation from father or father substitute for two months or more	·88
In hospital for more than one month	·60

*A composite variable made up of the three preceding variables plus social worker's delinquency rating for area.

5. The percentage variance accounted for by the first principal component in the case of each syndrome was as follows:—A—70 per cent, B—46 per cent, C—75 per cent, D—59 per cent and E—66 per cent. In each case the first component was the only factor of significance. This method of cluster scoring resembles Fahy's cluster scoring of patients with depressed syndromes (T. Fahy, S. Brandon and R. Garsted, "Classification of Depressive Illness", *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine.* Vol. 62, April 1969).

TABLE 34: *Variables factor analysed for each age group*

Younger boys (13 years 11 months and under)	*Older boys (over 13 years 11 months)*
1. Reconviction	1. Reconviction
2. Previous conviction	2. Age of first caution or conviction
3. Probation Officer's expectation—delinquent	3. Probation Officer's expectation—delinquent
4. Boy improved on probation according to parent	4. Boy improved on probation according to parent
5. Glueck score	5. Difference between parents over discipline
6. Inter-parent relation poor	6. Glueck score
7. Residence in corporation flat	7. Inter-parent relation poor
8. Mother's socialisation score	8. Average period between children of family not more than 2 years
9. Separation from mother figure	9. Poverty
10. Separation from father figure	10. Gang influence in neighbourhood
11. Guilt over probation offence	11. Delinquency rating of neighbourhood
12. Previous stay in institution	12. Total criminogenic rating of neighbourhood
13. CTP SOCIAL STANDARDS	13. Residence in city centre
14. CTP SOCIAL SKILLS	14. Rated "socialised" delinquent at interview
15. CTP FREEDOM FROM ANTI-SOCIAL TENDENCIES	15. Previous assessment or treatment at clinic
16. CTP FAMILY RELATIONS	16. Wanders from home
17. CTP SCHOOL RELATIONS	17. Many delinquent associates
18. IQ	18. Close friend delinquent
19. RPFS extrapunitive need persistence	19. Committed probation offence with others
20. RPFS intropunitive score	20. Guilt over probation offence
21. RPFS impunitive score	21. Previous stay in institution
22. RPFS extrapunitive ego defence (incriminating situations only)	22. Author's prediction for immediate future—non-delinquent
23. RPFS group conformity rating	23. Author's prediction for long-term future—non-delinquent
24. NJMI neuroticism (original version)	24. English comprehension
25. NJMI extraversion	25. Arithmetic comprehension
26. Mother's perception of own childhood unhappiness	26. RPFS intropunitive need persistence (incriminating items only)
27. Boy easily led (according to family)	27. RPFS extrapunitive ego defence (incriminating items only)
28. Passive leisure interests	28. NJMI neuroticism (original version)
29. Marked fondness for animals	29. NJMI extraversion
30. Boy's perception that he had been given own way too much by some parent (DAS No. 9)	30. Boy easily led (according to family)
	31. Passive leisure interests
	32. CTP SELF RELIANCE
	33. Boy's perception that he had been given own way too much by some parent (DAS No. 9)

The groups isolated resemble subgroups of Dublin drug abusers among a sample of 50 studied by Timms, Carney and Stevenson (1973). They found five subgroups—personality disordered (our socially maladjusted group), neurotic family environment ("disturbed family"), low intellectual capacity ("educationally retarded"), chronic presenter at institutions ("separation experience") and psychiatric admission (who bore some resemblance to our socially maladjusted group).

Figure 1 shows the distribution of factor scores in terms of standard deviations. The direction of the base axis is such that high scores in each case represent social deprivation. Chi-squared tests indicate that all five sets of factor scores deviated significantly from normal distribution. A relatively large group of boys, 53 in all, scored more than one standard deviation beyond the mean on Factor A and thus represent a slum-boy syndrome. These showed a slight tendency to fail ($p < \cdot 10$). Some twenty boys scored beyond one standard deviation above the mean on Factor B and thus could be said to be socially maladjusted. These, however, did not show any tendency to relapse on probation. In the case of Factor C, that representing the educational dimension, some eighteen boys were disadvantaged and these showed a slight tendency to fail ($p < \cdot 10$). Thirty-five boys were disadvantaged in terms of Factor D and these cases from disturbed families were significantly likely to fail ($p < \cdot 02$). In the case of Factor E twenty-four boys were disadvantaged, having been separated from their parents or parent figures at some stage for an appreciable time. These showed a tendency to become complete failures ($p < \cdot 02$). Two of these groups, the fifty-three slum-boys and the thirty-five boys from disturbed families, were characterised by poverty. Most of the eighteen boys who were educationally retarded were aged under 14. Although sixty-one per cent of the total sample were placed in particular deprived groups, only thirty-two per cent could be assigned to one such deprived group alone: there were eighteen who were pure slum-boys, eight pure cases of social maladjustment, two pure cases of educational retardation, eight pure cases of boys from a disturbed family and twelve pure cases of boys who had undergone a separation from a parent or parent figure. The fact that sixty-eight per cent of the probationer sample could not be classified or represented mixed types recalls a very similar discovery by Hart and McQuaid (1974) in the case of a sample of delinquent referrals to a Dublin Child Guidance Clinic. Factor structures were quite different in the two groups, however, as was apparent when probationers were rated on a set of items similar to those used with clinic referrals (Hart and McQuaid, p. 170). This was probably because of a higher incidence of poverty, overcrowded dwellings and working mothers among probationers and a higher incidence of overt hostility to mother figures and perceptual or motor disturbance among clinic referrals.

The lack of predictive significance among factors underlying the boys' characteristics was disappointing. Since it was possible that this had resulted from including within the original fifty-five variables a number of variables of little predictive significance, it was decided to experiment with the factor analysis of smaller groups of variables for different age levels. Since Andry (1963) has suggested that four factors, emotional maturity, experience of juvenile crime, neuroticism and extrapunitiveness were useful in characterising short-term adult prisoners, it was felt an additional advantage might be gained by incorporating some variables relevant to Andry's hypothesis in the factor analysis. Table 34 lists thirty variables factor analysed for the under 14 age group and thirty-three variables factor analysed for the older age group.

When the thirty variables for younger boys were factor analysed by the method of principal components with varimax rotation, twelve factors accounting for seventy-five per cent of the variance were extracted. Outcome was linked to a significant degree with three of these factors, Factors 3, 4 and 12. Table 35 shows the composition of these factors in terms of high-loading variables. Factor 3 would seem to represent a certain aggressiveness in response to frustration linked with an absence of separation for any considerable period from parent figures. This grouping of variables would seem to suggest that children learn best to cope with aggressive reactions to frustration in the company of parents. It seems probable to the author that where parent figures

TABLE 35: *Loadings on factors related to outcome of nine high-loading variables (younger boys)*

	Variable	*Factor*		
		3	*4*	*12*
9	Separation from mother figure for at least 2 months	—·88	—·02	·05
10	Separation from father figure for at least 2 months	—·91	·08	—·02
22	RPFS extrapunitive ego defence (incriminating situations only)	·39	—·65	·07
14	CTP SOCIAL SKILLS	—·12	·64	—·17
20	RPFS intropunitive score	·12	·70	·09
23	RPFS group conformity rating	·02	·72	·06
1	Reconviction*	—·34	·32	—·40
4	Boy improved on probation according to parent	—·08	·03	·84
21	RPFS impunitive score	—·22	·07	—·40

Note: Loadings exceeding an absolute value of ·30 underlined.
*Scored on a three point scale, success —1; partial failure —2; complete failure —3.

are absent, fantasies about retribution for aggression tend to inhibit its expression. In such cases there may well be the fear that the parent has left because of the child's negative feelings. Andry's finding (1963, p. 97) that "closeness to mother is correlated with the intropunitive attitude and lack of a father is correlated with the extrapunitive attitude" is certainly not duplicated among the younger group of probationers. Factor 4 would seem to indicate a group of socially conforming young delinquents, characterised by low levels of extrapunitive ego defence, a tendency to turn aggression inwards and a relatively high level of social skill. Factor 12 suggests the link between success and low impunitive score. It is noteworthy that all three factors indicate a link between low extrapunitiveness and reconviction. They bear resemblance to only one of Andry's, his fourth factor, the extrapunitive/intropunitive continuum, and the direction of association with outcome is reversed in the case of

TABLE 36: *Loadings on factors related to outcome of fourteen high loading variables (boys of 14 or over)*

	Variable	*Factor*			
		1	*4*	*9*	*11*
1	Reconviction*	·43	—·29	·28	·41
6	Glueck score	·63	—·05	—·10	·27
7	Inter-parent relation poor	·82	—·03	·09	—·22
9	Poverty	·46	—·14	·14	·23
3	Probation Officer's expectation—delinquent	·18	—·41	·45	·16
18	Close friend delinquent	—·23	·81	·00	·06
19	Committed probation offence in company	·07	·73	—·12	—·22
15	Previous assessment or treatment at clinic	·21	·02	·80	·24
16	Wanders from home	·01	·20	·42	·05
31	Passive leisure interests	—·23	—·31	·63	—·03
14	Rated "socialised" delinquent at interview	·23	·07	·06	·48
22	Author's prediction for immediate future—non-delinquent	·00	·19	—·08	—·84
23	Author's prediction for long-term future—non-delinquent	—·01	—·04	—·22	—·71
32	CTP SELF RELIANCE	—·03	·07	—·03	—·35

Note: Loadings exceeding an absolute value of ·30 underlined.
*Scored on a three point scale, success —1; partial failure —2; complete failure —3.

that comparison. It must be noted, however, that his measure of extrapunitiveness was based on the psychologist's rating of a prisoner for aggressiveness, whereas the present system of rating involves a boy's performance on the Rosenzweig test. Another reason for the difference in result may lie in the much younger age of the present subgroup of probationers. Considering all twelve factors underlying the variable matrix for the younger probationers, resemblances to Andry's factors are still marginal. His emotionally immature group finds a slight resemblance in Factor 1 (negative loading from variable 11 and positive loading from variable 30) and his neurotic group in Factor 5 (positive loading from variable 24 and negative loadings from variables 13, 15, 16 and 17). Results with older boys provide a fairer comparison with Andry's findings from the point of view of age.

Eleven varimax rotated factors accounted for about 68 per cent of variance in the 33 variable matrix in the case of older boys. Of the 11 factors 4 were of some predictive importance. Table 36 indicates the loadings of 14 high-loading variables on these factors. Factor 1 seems to represent a group of boys from disturbed and inadequate families and had the strongest link with reconviction. Factor 4 suggests a group of boys led into crime through close friendship with a delinquent boy. This group tended to have active rather than passive leisure interests and were likely to succeed rather than fail. Factor 9 suggests a group with passive leisure interests. A prominent characteristic of the group was previous assessment or treatment at a child guidance clinic and the prognosis in their cases, according to probation officers and to outcome, was poor. Factor 11 had the second strongest association with reconviction and suggests a group seen by the author as likely to relapse either in the near or long-term future. They tended to be seen by the author as "socialised" delinquents, that is, while not overtly uncooperative, they seemed prone to furtive stealing and to association with gangs and bad company. Only one of the four postulated groups resembles any of Andry's groups, the personality disorder group suggested by Factor 9 which resembles his group of emotionally immature prisoners. Considering all 11 factors in the present factor analysis, Factor 5 suggested a group showing emotional immaturity (strong negative loadings of variables 26 and 32, and a positive loading of variable 28) and Factor 3 suggested an extrapunitive group (strong positive loading from variable 27 and negative loadings from variables 16 and 17). Neither Factor 5 nor Factor 3 had any predictive significance however. Thus, even with the older boys there was little indication of the dimensions which Andry found useful in classifying the responses of short-term adult prisoners. The fact that his sample consisted of English delinquents may have something to do with the difference and it is also possible that the shortness of his follow-up period, about a year, may be a relevant factor.

Andry suggests different remedies with different groups of prisoners but it has to be noted that the groups uncovered in the present study were subject to a great deal of overlapping. The procedure of grouping variables according to the factor on which they were most heavily loaded, as undertaken for the general sample, was repeated for each age group in the case of the variables listed in Table 34. Thus, for instance, each younger boy received three scores indicating how closely he typified the patterns suggested by Factors 3, 4 and 12. Confining our attention to those whose factor score exceeded one standard deviation above the mean, 33 of the younger boys were placed in high risk groups while 44 older boys were placed in such groups. Because of overlapping, there were among younger boys only seven pure cases typifying Factor 3, eleven pure cases of Factor 4 and 9 pure cases of Factor 12. Among older boys there were only three pure cases of Factor 1, four pure cases of Factor 4, 5 pure cases of Factor 9 and seven pure cases of Factor 11. Of the total sample of 150, only 46, or 31 per cent, could be assigned to independent predictive groups. The only important treatment recommendation that can be made on the basis of Tables 35 and 36 would seem to be that the best approach to young probationers is to foster their initiative and thus their "constructive aggression".

It should be noted that one of the twelve factors underlying the variable matrix for younger boys received a very high loading from extrapunitive need persistence (·80) and a high negative loading from impunitive score (—·69). In view of the significance of extrapunitive need persistence in predicting complete failures when combined with other RPFS scores, this result is of some interest. The predictive significance of the factor was, however, only slight as the loading of the variable of reconviction was only ·28. If outcome had been dichotomised in terms of complete failures and others, the factor would probably have been more predictively significant.

Multiple Regression Equations

Table 37 lists the eight variables most closely related to outcome for the entire sample and for the two age groups within it. Prediction tends to be more accurate within a particular age group than for the sample as a whole and this is also apparent in the case of multiple regression equations. Table 38 presents six multiple regression equations showing the effectiveness of multiple predictors of failure and complete failure in the case of the sample as a whole and the sample broken down by age group. The seven variables used in equations 1 and 2 were each significantly predictive of outcome and in general weakly correlated with one another. The eight variables in equations 3 and 4 and the 7 variables in equations 5 and 6 were taken from the factor analytic results with the different age groups. Since the sample is small, it is unlikely that the regression weights

are stable and it is possible that the multiple coefficients are exaggerated due to a capitalising on chance variations. The equations are presented here primarily to show which variables retain their influence on outcome when combined with other independent variables. Equations 1 and 2 show that Glueck score and previous assessment or treatment are influential variables for the prediction of failure or complete failure. The presence of many delinquent associates is of some importance for the prediction of failure generally but not

TABLE 37: *Important indicators by size of correlation with reconviction*

Variable	*Correlation with reconviction*
A—For entire sample	
Probation Officer's expectation of failure	·36
Total Glueck score	·36
Previous psychological assessment or treatment	·33
Boy not improved during probation period according to parent	·31
Rated at interview as "socialised delinquent"	·28
Author's prediction of failure	·28
Institution other than hospital for more than one month	·28
Many delinquent associates	·27
B—For those aged under 13 years 11 months	
Impunitive score (RPFS)	·40
Extrapunitive need persistence (RPFS)	—·38
Probation Officer's expectation of failure	·37
Boy not improved during probation period according to parent	·37
Extrapunitive ego defence (RPFS—super ego items)	—·36
Mother's perception of unhappiness in own childhood	·34
Separation from father or father substitute for two months or more	·33
Total Glueck score	·30
C—For those aged 13 years 11 months or over	
Previous psychological assessment or treatment	·43
Poverty	·40
Total Glueck score	·40
Rated at interview as "socialised delinquent"	·40
Difference between parents over discipline	·36
Probation Officer's expectation of failure	·36
Many delinquent associates	·35
Author's prediction of failure	·35

Note: Variables were scored in dichotomies except in the case of reconviction and probation officer's expectation which were scored in three categories.

TABLE 38: *Specification equations for failure and complete failure*

1: *Entire Sample: Failure (M = ·48, Adjusted R^2 = ·19)*

X^1 = 5·99 + ·21 Glueck score* —·08 Good inter-parent relation —·07 absence of poverty —·11 absence of paternal separation —·21 absence of previous assessment or treatment* —·17 absence of many delinquent associates† —·05 absence of previous institutional stay.

TABLE 38—*continued*

2: *Entire Sample: Complete Failure (M = ·58, Adjusted R^2 = ·30)*
X^1 = 6·25+·19 Glueck score*+·00 Good inter-parent relation —·14 absence of poverty† —·23 absence of paternal separation‡ —·29 absence of previous assessment or treatment‡ —·11 absence of many delinquent associates —·16 absence of previous institutional stay†.

3: *Boys aged under 13 years 11 months: Failure (M = ·52, Adjusted R^2 = ·16)*
X^1 = 4·53—·12 Absence of paternal separation —·06 CTP FREEDOM FROM WITHDRAWING TENDENCIES +·08 RPFS extrapunitive need persistence +·07 RPFS intropunitive score +·27 RPFS impunitive score† —·15 RPFS extrapunitive ego defence (incriminating situations) +·02 RPFS group conformity rating +·22 Mother's experience of own childhood adversity*.

4: *Boys aged under 13 years 11 months: Complete Failure (M = ·72, Adjusted R^2 = ·45)*
X^1 = 6·70—·25 Absence of paternal separation* —·10 CTP FREEDOM FROM WITHDRAWING TENDENCIES* —·46 RPFS extrapunitive need persistence‡ —·22 RPFS intropunitive score* +·06 RPFS impunitive score —·17 RPFS extrapunitive ego defence (incriminating situations) —·08 RPFS group conformity rating +·23 Mother's experience of own childhood adversity‡.

5: *Boys aged 13 years 11 months or over: Failure (M = ·62, Adjusted R^2 = ·32)*
X^1 = 5·29+·10 Glueck score —·08 Good inter-parent relation —·20 Rated other than "socialised" delinquent at interview† —·24 Absence of previous assessment or treatment* +·28 no close friend delinquent‡ —·13 Committed probation offence in company —·13 Author's prediction non-delinquent in immediate future.

6: *Boys aged 13 years 11 months or over: Complete Failure (M = ·64, Adjusted R^2 = ·36)*
X^1 = 5·57+·19 Glueck score† —·01 Good inter-parent relation —·33 Rated other than "socialised" delinquent at interview‡ —·39 Absence of previous assessment or treatment‡ +·06 No close friend delinquent —·13 Committed probation offence in company —·05 Author's prediction non-delinquent in immediate future.

Variables were coded as follows: In equations 1, 3, 5, success —4, all failures —5; in equations 2, 4, 6, success and partial failure —4, complete failure —5. Glueck total <193—1; ⩾193—2. Poor relation between parents —1; probably good —2; definitely good —3. Poverty —1; absence of poverty —2. Separation from father figure for 2 months or more —1; no such separation —2. Previous psychological assessment or treatment —1; no such assessment etc., —2. Many delinquent associates —1; not many delinquent associates —2. Previous institutional stay for at least one month —1, no such stay —2. CTP FREEDOM FROM WITHDRAWING TENDENCIES 0—2·9—1; 3—5·9—2; 6—8·9—3; 9—12—4. RPFS e score 0—3·5—1; over 3·5—2. RPFS 1·1 score 0—3·5—1; 4—7·5—2. RPFS impunitive score 0—4·5—1; over 4·5—2. RPFS E score (super-ego) 0—0·5—1; 1 or over —2. RPFS group conformity score 38%—61%—1; 62%—85%—2. Mother's score on perception of own childhood adversity scale 0, 1—1; over 1—2. Rated as "socialised" delinquent at interview —1; not rated as such —2. Close friend delinquent —1; no close friend delinquent —2. Committed probation offence alone —1; committed probation offence in company —2. Author's prediction delinquent, immediate future —1; prediction non-delinquent —2.

†$p < ·10$. *$p < ·05$. ‡$p < ·01$.

for the prediction of complete failure. A break in the continuity of relationship with the father figure is highly significant in the prediction of complete failure and previous institutional stay has some relevance. Poverty, although not significant for general outcome, has some bearing on complete failure. It is notable that the prediction of complete failure is more accurate than that of general failure and this is also true within the specific age groups. Equations 3 and 4 are largely made up of variables taken from the RPFS test with only two variables representing family factors. The predictive significance of variables can be seen to vary considerably depending on whether they are linked with general failure or complete failure. Extrapunitive need persistence is a highly significant negative indicator of complete failure but not significant as a predictor of general failure. Intropunitive score is a significant and negative indicator of complete failure but has not a significant bearing on general failure. Since it is positively linked with general failure and negatively with complete failure, intropunitive score, when combined with other variables, must be particularly linked with partial failure. Equations 5 and 6 show the importance of previous assessment or treatment as an indicator of failure or complete failure among older boys. A link between the rating of "socialised" delinquent at interview and complete failure suggests the role of a certain kind of delinquent self-image in the development of delinquency among older boys. On the other hand, the older boys who committed the probation offence alone were somewhat more likely to fail on probation and this accounts for the negative (although statistically insignificant) regression weight of the variable "committed probation offence in company". The rating of "socialised" delinquent did not imply that the boy had committed the probation offence in company nor was there a statistically significant link between the two ratings. Although the tendency to association with gangs was considered in arriving at the rating of "socialised", it was not the main factor considered. Impression of a tendency to furtive stealing combined with a generally co-operative attitude at interview largely decided whether the boy was rated "socialised". In general these equations show the predominant influence of family and personality factors in determining outcome although they do not entirely rule out the possible influence of more sociological variables, for instance, previous institutional stay or poverty.

Part 8

School Non-Attenders

For reasons of space only a summary of results is given here. A separate article will deal with non-attenders in greater depth. The significant differences between non-attenders and probationers[6] were as follows:

(1) Although both groups were of similar social status according to the classification used in Table 5, non-attenders were more disadvantaged in terms of poverty as defined. They were more likely to live in corporation flats and a greater proportion were unkempt or dirty at interview.

(2) Non-attenders were more likely to have alcoholic parents. On the other hand, they expressed less hostility to fathers, less often experienced sibling conflict and more often had good relationships with mothers ($p < \cdot001$ for the last association). They rarely had been in institutions for more than one month.

(3) Fewer of the non-attenders were oldest or youngest boys in a family. They did not tell lies so often at home and their parents did not so often say the boy was easily led. Very few of them had many delinquent companions or a close friend delinquent.

(4) They had more leisure interests, especially of an active kind, and were less fond of animals.

(5) On psychological tests, the non-attenders were higher on NJMI Lie Scale (original version), higher on IQ, higher on one personal adjustment scale (FEELING OF BELONGING) and on two social adjustment scales (SOCIAL STANDARDS AND SCHOOL RELATIONS) of the CTP. They also did significantly better on SCHOOL RELATIONS in a direct comparison with probationers aged under 15. Very few of the non-attenders had been assessed or treated at a child guidance clinic. On the RPFS Children's Form non-attenders were lower on impunitive score and higher on extrapunitive ego defence (incriminating situations only) and extrapunitive need persistence (incriminating situations only). On the OTAT pictures they had a higher self-intrinsic score and were higher also on rationalisation and acceptance.

(6) On the Delinquency Association scale they more often indicated two particular sources of stress—they more often had lacked the mother's company and were more likely to feel that a parent had not cared enough or been too indulgent. Other perceptions, however, indicated better family relations. They

6 Non-attenders resembled in age those probationers under 14.

would consult their parents more often when in trouble and had less frequently tried to run away from home.

Since attendance officers rated each boy on the degree of his non-attendance, it was possible to see if test measures were useful with non-attenders. Like probationers, these were grouped in three categories, "occasional", "frequent" (noted at least three times for non-attendance) and "chronic" (more often absent than present). Factors significantly distinguishing chronics from others were as follows:

Social Factors

Chronics were more likely to be from the routine manual working group. They were also poorer (Table 39). They were *less* likely to have working

TABLE 39: *Poverty by school non-attendance*

Poverty	*Total*	*Non-attendance*		
		Occasional	*Frequent*	*Chronic*
Present	35	8 (23%)	13 (37%)	14 (40%)
Not present	22	14 (64%)	5 (22%)	3 (14%)
Total	57	22	18	17

$X^2 = 11{\cdot}89$. DF = 2. $p < {\cdot}01$.

mothers (23 per cent of the non-attenders as a whole had mothers working part time or full time). They were more likely to have an alcoholic parent and a high Glueck score (Table 40). They were less likely to have experienced

TABLE 40: *Glueck total score by school non-attendance*

Glueck total score	*Total*	*Non-attendance*		
		Occasional	*Frequent*	*Chronic*
(*a*) Under 115	8	5 (63%)	3 (37%)	0 (0%)
(*b*) 115–192	15	10 (67%)	4 (27%)	1 (6%)
(*c*) 193–270	27	2 (7%)	9 (33%)	16 (60%)
(*d*) Not available	7	5 (71%)	2 (29%)	0 (0%)
Total	57	22	18	17

Excluding (*d*) and combining (*a*) with (*b*), $X^2 = 23{\cdot}14$. DF = 2. $p < {\cdot}001$.

a firm but kindly maternal discipline. They had more siblings, and more siblings in trouble for non-attendance. They were more likely to live in corporation flats and in overcrowded dwellings. They were also more likely to be dressed poorly.

Psychological and Educational Factors

On the RPFS chronics were higher on intropunitive score. They showed fewer trends towards extrapunitiveness in the obstacle dominance and need persistence categories. As Table 41 shows, the overall chi-squared was quite significant ($p < \cdot02$) for extrapunitive need persistence (constructive aggression): frequent non-attenders were particularly high on this scale, exceeding

TABLE 41: *Extrapunitive need persistence (constructive aggression) on RPFS (children's form) by school non-attendance*

Extrapunitive need persistence *Number of responses*	*Total*	*Non-attendance*		
		Occasional	*Frequent*	*Chronic*
0–3·5	32	14(44%)	5 (16%)	13 (40%)
4 or over	25	8 (32%)	13 (52%)	4 (16%)
Total	57	22	18	17

$X^2 = 8{\cdot}55$. DF = 2. $p < \cdot02$.

occasionals who, in turn, exceeded chronics. This curvilinear association resembles that among probationers. Chronics were more likely to mitch from school and appear sullen at interview.

Thus, such variables as poverty, parental alcoholism and Glueck score are of diagnostic value among both probationers and non-attenders. Previous psychological assessment or treatment and extrapunitive ego defence (incriminating situations only) distinguished non-attenders from probationers in a useful manner. When probationers aged 14 or over are excluded from consideration, the significant difference between probationers and non-attenders in proportion poor disappears. Forty-six per cent of the younger probationers as against 61 per cent of the non-attenders were poor. The significant difference between proportions with a drinking problem remains. Almost half the non-attenders had a parent with this problem compared with slightly over one-quarter of probationers. These findings can be interpreted in more than one way but the interpretation of the author is that the variables which have been found most predictive of behaviour on probation and which

retain their predictive value when combined with other variables, that is Glueck score, previous assessment or treatment at clinic and presence of many delinquent associates, are validated by characterising the non-attenders' group to a lesser extent. It might, of course, be argued that since the non-attenders more frequently tended to say they had lacked the mother's company and were more likely to feel that a parent had not cared enough or been too indulgent, they came from more disturbed families than the probationers. If they were from more disturbed families, then the question arises as to why they did not become more deviant than they were. The reason for this might be sought in the possibility that they had escaped detection for their crimes whereas the probationers were unlucky and had been caught, or that the police force was in some way more biased against the group who were placed on probation. If the view is taken that there was some form of official bias against probationers, then it seems natural to expect that the probationers would be from a more poverty stricken group. Yet, although the difference in proportion poor was not statistically significant among the younger age group, a higher proportion of the non-attenders came from poor families. It seems probable to the author that the non-attenders in any case were from more cohesive families than the probationers: the two DAS items which indicated otherwise may only reflect the higher level of extrapunitive ego-defence among non-attenders and are, in any case, in contrast with two other DAS results.

Despite the fact that 43 per cent of probationers had had some contact with the school attendance officer, only 2 of the separate sample of non-attenders appeared in court on charges other than non-attendance during the two-year follow-up. According to attendance officers the sample constituted a fair cross-section of national school boys. One officer remarked that if a certain school near the city centre had been included, many more than 2 would have become delinquent. It is clear that non-attendance of itself does not lead to delinquency.

Part 9

Theoretical Issues

A NUMBER of theoretical issues are discussed in this section. These begin with the basic issue of the extent to which judicial or police response determines who fails on probation. What would seem the most interesting of the psychological test results, the predictive data arising from the RPFS, are then discussed. The results relating to typology are examined as are those relating to multiple regression. Finally, the significance of the results in terms of sociology or psychology is commented on.

The present results do not permit a close examination of the extent to which the bias of society against deprived groups was responsible for the probationers' behaviour on probation. The probationers were overwhelmingly from manual working groups and a considerable number of them were from very poor families. Family size was larger than expected for the social groups in question. The results on family background suggest that the sample contained a very large group with inadequate parents. The probationers' social characteristics thus, at the very least, do not bring in question the conclusion of West and Farrington (1973, p. 189) that "Samples of official delinquents are probably biased in the direction of an over-representation of boys with obviously unfavourable backgrounds." Apart from any judicial or police bias, other factors play a part in deciding who becomes an official delinquent. Much depends upon the willingness of the neighbours, parents and schools to report children's misbehaviour and on the amount of time children spend on the streets where their delinquencies are more visible. There is also the element of sheer chance. One relevant result in this study is that which shows that children of low IQ and poor homes are not more speedily detected in the course of their criminal careers but this is not a very firm result as it was based on the children's estimate of the period that elapsed between commencing delinquent activities and being caught by the police. Comparison of probationers with school non-attenders does not show evidence of police or judicial bias against poorer groups. Non-attenders had a higher incidence of poverty and a significantly higher rate of alcoholic parents than probationers. Among the probationers it is notable that complete failures were not merely from more inadequate families but had been convicted significantly more often after placement on probation than partial failures. Probation officers said they knew of few probationers whom they thought had committed further crimes without being caught. Hostility to police was not associated with recidivism among the

probationers and indeed it would seem that it was the more repressed type of boy who became a recidivist. It seems unlikely from the overall results that differential official bias played a major part in deciding failure among the probationers. This would seem to square with Hirschi's impression that the influence of official bias is cumulative and may not be large at any given stage of the adjudication process (1969, Chapter 5). An argument against the influence of official bias in the selection of the present sample is that if official bias had been operating against the boys, they would, because of their poverty and inadequate home backgrounds, have been committed to institutions rather than placed on probation.

Some of the most interesting results arise from the use of the RPFS Children's Form. The high correlation of impunitive score with failure (·40) and extrapunitive need persistence with complete failure (—·53) suggests an important place for these variables in specification equations for recidivism among young offenders. Individual testing would seem desirable for forecasting outcome but if this is impracticable, it may be possible to obtain valid results under group conditions, pictures being projected onto a screen. The reason why the kind of prediction tables examined by Simon (1971) do not work very well is probably because they are confined to the kind of data in probation officers' reports. Measures of mental functioning or motivation in such reports tend to be crude. No amount of statistical expertise will make prediction tables very useful until measures like those provided by the RPFS are included. Psychological testing would seem necessary for any useful prediction of long term behaviour in the case of delinquent children.

The meaning of high impunitive and intropunitive scores on the Children's Form of the RPFS is central to this research. It is just possible but very unlikely that they represent a tendency to give socially desirable answers. If they do, then it is difficult to see why those who faked their responses on this test did not do likewise on the NJMI. Maybe they did—in such a subtle way that they did not gain high Lie Scores. Yet the more likely account is that with the exception of a few very high scorers, those who gained a high impunitive or intropunitive score were not deliberately faking. With extrapunitive need persistence, the possibility of faking is even less: not only was there no correlation with Lie Score but the faking of high extrapunitive need persistence scores would seem to presuppose quite sophisticated fakers. It seems quite unlikely that boys would give a rather aggressive response for the sake of appearance. Unlike "intropunitives", "impunitives" showed no sign of being socialised delinquents. The link between impunitive score and emotional withdrawal, as rated by the author at interview, suggests that impunitive score has something to do with unconscious guilt, the third of Bjerstedt's (1965) possible explanations. In view of their further criminality, the "impunitives" would

seem to be responding to the RPFS test at the level of fantasy, rather than of behaviour—it seems unlikely that persistent delinquents react impunitively and blandly at behavioural level when frustrated. Yet the link with emotional withdrawal suggests that high impunitive score does indicate something about behaviour patterns. There is in fact much descriptive evidence that delinquents, particularly "subcultural" ones, spend much of their time in a mental state which minimises contact with the outside world and, thus, frustration. The author of *A Glasgow Gang Observed* (Patrick, 1973) has this to say—"one of the foremost sensations that remains with me is the feeling of unending boredom, of crushing tedium, of listening hour after hour in street corners to desultory conversation and indiscriminate grumbling. Standing with one's back against a wall, with one's hands in one's pockets, in the late afternoon and in the early hours of the morning, was *the* gang activity. . . . Some boys whispered. . . . Others had no interest even in talking and were content to let their mind go blank. . . . Specifically delinquent activities occupied only a small fraction of their waking hours" (p. 80). Bloch and Niederhoffer make similar comments—"night after night, gangs can be found at the same street corner hang-out. Weekend nights may bring a slight variation. They may grace a dance or movie. This regular round of activities is broken by auto trips to pick up girls. This is life in the gang. The fighting, burglaries, delinquency, are a very small part of the total range." (1958, p. 177.) Red and Wineman (1957) in *The Aggressive Child* also referred to the young delinquent's lack of inner resources to use leisure in a satisfying way. Since lawbreaking behaviour takes up only a small fraction of even "subcultural" delinquents' time, it is probable that a high impunitive score reflects a personality trait of apathy or inertia, a "couldn't care less" feeling. This conforms to Matza's impression (1964) that boys drift, rather than steer themselves, into delinquency.

There is little reason to suppose that boys inclined to repress hostile feelings in situations of imagined frustration are incapable of anti-social behaviour. Repression seems positively linked with anti-social behaviour, as Anna Freud (1945) indicates—"far from gaining strength, unconscious tendencies, on the contrary, are deprived of their power when an outlet into conscious thought is opened for them". The impunitives may resemble psychotic children in their lack of extrapunitive ego defence and need persistence. Concerning young victims of psychosis, Mednick (1968) says "Schizophrenia is characterised by extreme avoidance of reality. Victims learn the behaviour to escape stress to which they are extremely sensitive". The young "impunitives" do not display schizophrenic thought disorder but the way seems open for schizoid disorders through general ego deficiency. O'Neal and Robins' study (1958), which showed a high incidence of psychosis among adults who had been referred in childhood to guidance clinics for anti-social behaviour, is relevant here. The

process whereby a young impunitive might become psychotic possibly involves a failure to build up ego defences based on the projection of hostility onto others. A group identification, whether with a gang which frequently breaks the law or a military unit, may help the ego-defective young person to deal with his aggressive feelings by projecting them onto other groups. This of course is not a long term solution but may be enough for the boy to avoid serious rejection by society. If he cannot get to the stage of using the mechanism of projection to deal with his aggression, his anti-social acts may lose any vestige of ego assertion and become increasingly bizarre and non-utilitarian. In this context, it does seem true that psychopathic behaviour is a defence against psychosis. The blandness of the impunitive young delinquent, his "coolness", indicates a thoroughly realistic fear that his ego will be overwhelmed by his impulses. One of West and Farrington's results is decidedly relevant here—"the findings of the present study strongly support the concept of a typical delinquent, in a sense that most delinquents display a behavioural syndrome which encompasses far more in the way of deviant conduct than the limited range of illegal acts for which they are apt to be convicted". (1973, p .199.)

Those young probationers who gained high intropunitive scores, the "intropunitives", tended to gain high scores on CTP SOCIAL SKILLS which indicates they may constitute a group of socialised delinquents. Other ratings, however, did not show them to be a socialised group. They were not likely to commit their probation offence in company nor were they more likely to be perceived by a parent as "easily led". In the case of the latter variable it might be argued that a positive relationship was cloaked by a low reliability value for the variable "easily led" but those younger boys scoring four points or over on the intropunitive scale were somewhat *less* likely to be perceived as "easily led" and boys of all ages with such scores were significantly less likely to be perceived in that way. It will be remembered that intropunitive score was linked with poverty and with the perception of quarrelling parents. A strong super-ego suggested by high intropunitive score would probably lead to an acceptance of such parental explanations that the "system" rather than the parents were to blame for the vicissitudes of the family. There is probably a tacit collusion in the displacement of the child's aggression onto the world outside the family. Through identification with parents, the children might pick up a habit of guilt reducing rationalisations about their own conduct and a "we-they" outlook which assumes the hostility of the middle class and officialdom—an easy step once these authorities have been invested with responsibility for the family's plight. As a boy grows older, he may come to repress the awareness of parental faults, projecting them onto outer society. Thus the guilt reducing mechanisms described by Matza and Redl and Wineman may develop. Society is corrupt and one must be corrupt to fight it. A lawbreaking act may then represent an

attempt to indicate the boy's sense of autonomy or to overcome a mood of fatalism, of which Matza says (1964, p. 188), "it is elicited by being pushed around, and yields the feeling that oneself exercises no control over the circumstances surrounding it and the destiny awaiting it". What Matza describes as the fatalism of young "subcultural" delinquents springs not only from objective circumstances such as the scarcity of jobs for boys living in the "wrong" street but also probably from the identification with parental attitudes of fatalism. Delinquents, like most youths, are probably loyal to parents and if they have accepted that the parents have been very severely constrained through circumstances, so, it seems to them, must they be. The resulting inability to realise their feeling of control over themselves makes them all too willing to accept failure in academic competitions, in sports and in life generally. In this context, the effect of blighted aspirations on performance in the case of a Borstal athlete, and the home circumstances that create his mood of despair were sensitively portrayed in the film, *The Loneliness of the Long-distance Runner*. The concept of some delinquents maintaining a passive self-image as a result of identifying with parental explanations of family vicissitudes throws light on one of the findings of Short and Strodtbeck (1965, p. 177). They found that boys belonging to delinquent gangs who disliked athletics and who perceived themselves as kind, helpful, soft and polite were particularly liable to carry weapons and beat, kick, or scratch others. In one sense, these boys probably were kind and helpful, having leaned over backwards, psychologically, to accommodate their parents. This interpretation seems sounder than that proffered by the authors, namely, that the boys were particularly well socialised delinquents and thus especially vulnerable to group pressure. The present results do not show intropunitives as being significantly more "easily led". Another relevant study (Conger and Miller, 1966, p. 194) shows that future delinquents among deprived boys of low IQ, when only nine years old, gain more favourable ratings from teachers on such traits as regard for persons and sense of responsibility than future non-delinquents of a similar age, social class and IQ.We are reminded of a boy we heard of through a psychoanalyst friend, Gordon Fletcher, who broke down in tears whenever he underwent an interview for a job. His father had once, foolishly, told him he would never get a job.

The link between intropunitive score and CTP SOCIAL SKILLS does not indicate that intropunitives have particularly close personal relationships: there was no link between intropunitive score and "close friend delinquent". As Hirschi and Short and Strodtbeck have shown, inter-personal relationships in frequently delinquent juvenile groups tend to be superficial. Both intropunitive and impunitive score were probably related to ego strength and they had some link with one another ($p < \cdot 10$). Reiss's distinction (1952) between "weak ego" and "super-ego defective" delinquents does not differentiate

intropunitives from impunitives among the younger boys. His "super-ego defective" type (or socialised type) lived in poorer areas than the "weak ego" type. But in the present study it is the intropunitives (who by definition can hardly be described as having defective super-ego's) who tend to be poor.

Previous research has by no means ruled out the possibility that extreme recividists are characterised by overstrict super-ego's. Wechsberg (1951) has shown that among 22 psychiatrically disturbed children, RPFS (Children's Form) responses corresponded to behavioural (or "overt") response in dramatised versions of RPFS situations, whereas among 22 non-disturbed children, responses corresponded more closely to self-concept assessed by a questionnaire method. Rosenzweig in his report (1960, p. 166) of this study uses the term "implicit or fantasy" to denote the level of response in the dramatised situation, but the dramatised situations were, in fact, the only measure of overt response obtained. From this viewpoint, the disturbed children gave overt responses approximating their RPFS responses while the non-disturbed group were more extrapunitive at overt level than in their RPFS responses. The size of the association between impunitive score and reconviction in the present study suggests that, even allowing for a tendency among non-disturbed children to gain higher impunitive scores than warranted by actual behaviour, impunitive scores exceeding twelve points on the Children's Form would in very many cases indicate severe maladjustment. It is noteworthy that probationers generally were significantly higher on impunitive score than school non-attenders. The putative tendency of non-disturbed children to respond more aggressively at the overt than the RPFS level is called in question by the results of another study by Rosenzweig (1960, p. 168). These show that for forty school children, RPFS (Children's Form) responses were more closely related to overt response (assessed by teachers) than responses to corresponding non-pictorial, questionnaire items. A further finding of the Rosenzweigs (1952) that child guidance clinic referrals gained high extrapunitive and low intropunitive scores on the Children's Form corroborates the results of Table 18. If the Rosenzweigs had followed up their cases, they would almost certainly have found high impunitive and intropunitive scores characterising those who failed to respond to treatment. Indeed, they seem to be aware of this possibility by specifically noting that their sample showed much greater variability than found among normal children and thus might contain a number of over-conforming, excessively self-controlling cases. This recalls the greater variation in extrapunitive need persistence scores of probationers on the RPFS Children's Form. Breger (1962) has shown that those who most conformed to group pressure in judging sensory stimuli tended to inhibit direct expression of hostility in TAT stories thus showing a direct link between conformity in a small group and an impunitive or intropunitive response. The results of the present study

suggest that if his experiment was carried out with boys, extreme conformers would be at a greater risk of severe delinquency and extreme non-conformers at greater risk of minor delinquency. The study of Mussen and Kagan (1958) indicates that a significantly greater proportion of extreme conformists in a situation involving response to group pressures perceive their parents as harsh, punitive, restrictive and rejecting, as inferred from TAT stories written by them. Lyle and Gilchrist's result does not indicate that all delinquents are necessarily less intropunitive than non-delinquents. They showed that delinquents, in general, produce fewer signs of guilt in TAT stories but the same result might be inferred from Table 18 of the present study. West and Farrington's result (1974, p. 174) indicates that aggressiveness as measured by response to a test similar to the RPFS, although it predicts behavioural aggression as estimated by self-report, is not significantly linked with the development of delinquent behaviour. Presumably their more aggressive boys and the Dublin probationers who avoided subsequent committal would at worst have only occasional brushes with the law. The reason why super-ego functioning in general differentiates non-delinquents from delinquents is probably because super-ego strength is a rough measure of ego strength. There can be a discrepancy between the two variables, however, and where the ego is weak, it seems that a strong super-ego makes for more serious delinquency. The super-ego, if unintegrated within the personality, would seem to make for strong but destructive guilt feelings.

When predictive scores are considered in combination, extrapunitive need persistence retains its predictive importance in the case of complete failure in contrast to impunitive and intropunitive score. The score is significantly and negatively linked with both impunitive and intropunitive score. It is significantly linked with the absence of previous institutional experience and to an extent approaching statistical significance ($p < \cdot 10$) with the absence of separation from a mother figure, IQ and the possession of active leisure interests. Boys high on extrapunitive need persistence did not seem particularly well behaved, however, as there was some link ($p < \cdot 10$) between a high score on extrapunitive need persistence and low scores on CTP SOCIAL SKILLS and FREEDOM FROM ANTI-SOCIAL TENDENCIES. It seems significant that non-attenders showed more extrapunitive need persistence in incriminating situations than probationers.

The link between destructive and probably unconscious guilt and reconviction is not surprising when we consider a review of the effects of punishment on behaviour. Families characterised by physical punishment would seem to have parents who themselves have little sense of what to the author seems the only really valuable type of discipline—internal self-discipline. Such parents confuse discipline with punishment and believe that if they do not hit they cannot impart discipline to the child. They consequently confuse discipline

with a withdrawal of love from the child, failing to see that a child must be loved for himself or herself, discipline or the sense of an objective right and wrong being something else. Eynon (1974) quotes Solomon (1964, p. 250) as saying—"Gantt's work with neurotic dogs (1944), Masserman's work on neurotic cats and monkeys (1943), Brady's work with ulcerous monkeys (1958) and Maier's with fixated rats (1949) shows some of the devastating consequences of the utilisation of punishment. . . . Yates believes that punishment creates conflicts and the outcomes of conflict due to punishment are, rigidity, fixation, regression, aggression and displacement . . . The most convincing demonstrations of neurotic disturbances stemming from the use of punishment are seen in Masserman's work (1953) with monkeys". It is a possibility, however, that the link between the kind of unconscious guilt suggested by very low extrapunitive need persistence scores and reconviction would be weaker in other countries. The Irish culture is probably more authoritarian than most and this authoritarianism may well be a strong part of Irish working class culture. Certainly there was little evidence of liberal or permissive views among the parents of probationers.

Probationers aged 14 or over differed from younger boys in that the only RPFS score related to reconviction was intropunitive need persistence or a tendency to produce guilt-ridden responses on the incriminating items. Scores on CTP social adjustment scales were extremely low but on variables like relationship between parents, Glueck score and poverty, older boys were less disadvantaged than those under fourteen. Older boys who had experienced marked paternal absence tended to show strong extrapunitive ego defence reactions on the incriminating items, a trend opposite to that for younger boys. It seems probable that an endogenous factor which we may loosely call adolescence produced acting-out tendencies which obscured, except in the case of intropunitive need persistence reactions and "subjective strain" score (as described in Part 6), the relationship between a severe super-ego and complete failure. It would seem unlikely that the two forms of the RPFS test show different results simply because of the different situations used by the two forms. The failure groups established for older boys (Table 36) are in marked contrast with those for younger boys (Table 35).

Syndromes indicated in Figure 1 suggest a wide variety of factors in the development of general delinquency. The neighbourhood, the boy's social adjustment, the school and the family are all relevant. The influence of the neighbourhood on delinquency rate is no new finding and was suggested by Clifford Shaw in 1942. Social maladjustment of the boy would seem an independent factor but this probably represents a lack of information on the part of the author. West and Farrington (p. 136) indicate that boys who become delinquent from good backgrounds are extremely rare. What is usually

the case, their findings suggest, is that the researcher has failed to gain information about the presence of some adversity in such an apparently good background. The third syndrome shows the influence of school failure as a factor in the growth of delinquency and the fourth syndrome the influence of inadequate and disturbed parents. The fifth syndrome shows adverse effects of separation from parents or parent figures (occurring either because the child has left home or because a parent has left home) and, being a family disorder type of variable, is related to the fourth syndrome. What the five syndromes suggest is that if one took a general sample of Dublin boys it would be possible, by assessing each individual's score on the five syndromes, to arrive at a fair estimate of the likelihood of his becoming an official delinquent. A boy from a poor neighbourhood who was socially maladjusted, who did poorly at school, who came from a disturbed home background and had been separated from his parents for some time, would be much more likely than a boy who was not disadvantaged on any of the five measures to become a convicted delinquent. If he did not become an official delinquent, it is likely, as West and Farrington's result indicates (p. 150), that he would at least suffer from personality disorder.

The syndromes in general were not related to the development of further delinquency among probationers. Tables 35 and 36 suggest more relevant syndromes for the prediction of recidivism. Although the predictive factors vary for the two age groups, the general impression is that the recidivist is not an habitually aggressive boy but much more likely to have quite a passive outlook on life.

The Hewitt-Jenkins classification of delinquent boys bore little relationship to the results of the factor analysis and little evidence was shown for the existence of separate behavioural syndromes as postulated by Hewitt and Jenkins. Indeed, if as has been suggested, a severe super-ego is a positive criminogenic factor among probationers, the inhibited type described by Hewitt and Jenkins would seem to have a bad prognosis. Moreover, the correlation between intropunitive score and CTP SOCIAL SKILLS among younger probationers would suggest overlapping between categories of inhibited and socialised young delinquents. A socialised, inhibited type may also presumably become an "unsocialised aggressive" type if the repression of hostility to the parents is threatened by continued conflict with parents. Stott (1950) describes a number of cases where the stimulus to crime is the struggle to prevent the emergence to consciousness of hostility to parents and the displacement of such hostility outside the family. Another way in which socialised, inhibited types might become aggressive and unsocialised may arise from a boy's response to cultural achievement on the part of others. This may threaten his loyalty to parents, the *raison d'etre* of his in-turned hostility, and provoke a strongly destructive response. Such a response, very often seen in vandalism

is, we contend, doubly determined. It is a blow for the parents against the emblems of middle-class society and a blow against the parents and the fatalistic concept of life they have given the boy. Cohen (1955) interprets non-profitable vandalism as constituting a repudiation of conventional norms of achievement but although superficially it is like this, destructiveness for its own sake seems to imply something more than intellectual commitment to an ideology opposed to middle-class values. It is, in the author's view, accounted for by a sense of failure linked with a dim recognition that the failure stems from a loyalty to those who should want one to succeed. At last analysis, the vandal is angry because he is angry with himself. The weakness about behavioural typologies is their inability to handle qualitative aspects of behaviour. Because a boy is withdrawn in himself for long periods does not mean he may not occasionally erupt in very destructive or anti-social ways, or mingle with a similarly withdrawn group. Yablonsky (1963) and Rothstein (1962) show a high level of emotional withdrawal among groups of frequently delinquent boys.

Cultural deviance theories which suggest that delinquents are led to crime from attachments to deviant parental or peer models receive little support from the results. Part 5 suggests that boys with a close relationship with a delinquent friend had a good prognosis whereas those with many delinquent associates had a poor prognosis. It would seem that it was the capacity for a close relationship that made the difference. Part 6 suggests that children emotionally close to an unsocialised mother are less liable to become recidivist than those distant from such a mother. Hirschi's findings (1969) about the importance of *any* close relationship as a delinquency preventive factor are recalled by these results. They tend to bear out the control theory of delinquency, namely that anti-social behaviour will result in the absence of attachments (emotional, social, educational) which serve to socialise the boy. Strain theory, in so far as this was tested by assessing recidivism rates among groups with different levels of ability and ambition, receives little support from this study. Although a discrepancy between ability and the wish to attain socially approved goals may have led some probationers into trouble in the first place, their post-probation behaviour does not seem to have been effected by such a discrepancy. Family and personality factors seemed more prominent in determining outcome although it should be noted that a subjective sense of strain tended to characterise older failures.

The results of this study do not give exclusive support to either a psychological or sociological view of juvenile delinquency. A multi-casual pattern emerges, embracing neighbourhood and educational influences, family and personality factors. With regard to the prediction of recidivism among probationers, family and personality factors would seem more significant, although a socio-economic factor, poverty, and a sociological factor, the presence of

many delinquent associates, have an influence. In Table 38, Equation 1, it is evident that when a considerable number of predictive variables are combined, the only two variables which retain a statistically significant, independent effect on outcome are the presence of previous psychological assessment or treatment and Glueck score, both having about the same degree of influence. The presence of many delinquent associates retained some influence but was not statistically significant. Considering the three factors, Glueck score, previous assessment or treatment and the possession of many delinquent associates, where a boy had at least two of these factors predicting failure, his chance of failure was 69 per cent (i.e. 59 cases failing out of 85) and where he had less than two such factors against him, his chance of failure was 34 per cent (i.e. 20 cases failing out of 58). Considering the full range of 7 factors in Equation 1, where a boy had at least 5 such factors against him his chance of failure was 88 per cent (22 out of 25 cases failing), where he had two, three or four factors against him, the chance of failure was 60 per cent (58 cases failing out of 97), and where he had less than two factors against him, the chance of failure was 0 per cent (none failing out of 21 cases). Thus it can be seen that although the prediction of failure was by no means absolutely accurate, by considering factors which turned out to be closely linked with failure and combining them in the most effective way, it was possible to arrive at a fairly accurate prognosis. Moreover, as Table 38 indicates, prediction tended to be better when confined to a particular age group or to the category of complete failure. When it is considered that West and Farrington (pp. 128–136) have shown that it is possible to arrive at a fairly accurate prediction of delinquent behaviour among a *general* sample of working class boys by taking into account such factors as criminality of parents, family income, family size, poor parental behaviour and low intelligence of boy, the determining influence of family and personality factors is most impressive. It will be noted in Table 38 that the multiple correlation of eight personality and family factors with complete failure among the younger age group reached ·72. If measures descriptive of police surveillance, official readiness to prosecute and any judicial bias could have been used, the multiple correlation would probably have been even greater.

Of West and Farrington's five background factors, information was collected on family size, quality of parental behaviour and boy's level of intelligence. A measure of poverty was developed which corresponds to some extent with their measure of family income but no assessment of parental criminality was attempted other than in the five-year period before boy's placement on probation. Poverty, poor parental behaviour (as indicated by high Glueck scores) and low intelligence of the boy predicted failure. When poverty, Glueck score and intelligence are considered together, only Glueck score retains a significant influence on outcome. Considering poverty and intelligence

together, intelligence is still without significant effect. As Hirschi found in *Causes of Delinquency* (1969), deprivation which is related closely to parental inadequacy is a better predictor of delinquency than that more related to material deprivation.

The fact that two of the three items on which Glueck score is based, maternal supervision and maternal discipline, related to the mother's adequacy as a parent should not be taken to indicate that the paternal role had no bearing on outcome. It will be remembered that those boys who in answer to one of the DAS items said it would have helped them to have seen more of their fathers were significantly likely to become complete failures. It will also be recalled that where one of the parents had an alcoholic problem (in the great majority of cases, the father), or where the relationship between parents was bad, the Glueck score tended to be high.

Part 10

Practical Considerations

THIS study has dealt primarily with recidivism among young delinquents and only secondarily with the growth of delinquency among those not already delinquent. A certain light, however, has been thrown on the latter process. Such factors as urban deterioration, personal maladjustment, school failure and family inadequacy were shown to be relevant. Both psychological and sociological factors are significant in the growth of delinquency. The general impression is that children become delinquent where they have no stake in the community, attachment to the community taking different forms, financial, emotional or educational. The three areas of deficiency may be related to weaknesses in ego development among children—poverty may produce conflict between and within parents thus leading to an unsettled home atmosphere, emotional deprivation means that the personality as a whole cannot develop and therefore that impulses cannot be harnessed to the overall needs of personality, and educational failure, particularly in the context of punishment, must thwart a child's capacity for sublimation. Material deprivation and educational deprivation are disruptive of personal development primarily in so far as they represent rejection by the larger society. What is largely at fault here is the attitude of society in general to those with relatively low incomes or poor education. Emotional deprivation would seem more intimately linked with processes in the family and thus less directly linked with the attitudes of external society.

A high proportion of the probationers, about one third, had working mothers. Similarly, other groups of problem children known to the author, school non-attenders, institutionalised delinquents and child guidance delinquents, had high proportions of working mothers. The conclusion that the employment of mothers outside the home is a major contributory factor in the growth of delinquency or deviance does not, however, seem justified. For one thing, the mothers who went to work tended to lack husbands and the family was already disrupted in this way. For another, the difference in the quality of supervision provided by working and non-working mothers among probationers related mainly to the difference between fair and unsuitable supervision. The difference in the provision of suitable supervision by working and non-working mothers was negligible. Where a mother is determined to provide good supervision, she probably provides it whether working or not. Thirdly, working mothers did not score significantly lower on the Responsibility scale

than non-working mothers. Mothers who work may do so for a variety of reasons and it is the reason which seems important in the context of family security. Fourthly, the families of probationers were disadvantaged in a wide variety of ways. More than two-fifths of probationers lived in overcrowded homes, if we define over-crowding as more than two persons sleeping in one room or the parental bedroom being shared with children or the kitchen or the sitting-room being used as a bedroom.

Although overcrowding did not differentiate successes from failures on probation, it would seem to have a role in the causation of initial delinquency. Urban renewal designed to relieve overcrowding may well (Ferguson, 1952) reduce delinquency rates although it should be noted that high-rise flats are probably not the solution (Stewart, 1970). The wider provision of recreational facilities especially those challenging the imagination and activity of youngsters would also seem a general preventive measure, as would a reduction in the degree of violence broadcast by the mass media (Bandura, 1972). Delinquency-preventive measures of a general nature must aim at fostering attitudes conducive to family stability and the dignity of the individual. If society is permeated by a "me first" ethic, parents will have great difficulty in devoting themselves to their families. It should also be noted that the growth of attitudes favourable to the quality of family life would probably serve to lessen the incidence of mental illness, a greater problem in Ireland than that of officially registered delinquency although seemingly stemming from much the same causes.

The role of school failure in the growth of delinquency highlights the importance of designing adequate curricula for deprived youth. In this context the Rutland Street Project and similar projects have much to offer. Their attempt to involve the parents in the educational process would seem a very useful anti-delinquency measure. For many of the deprived children in the study the values taught by school teachers probably seem irrelevant to their lives at home. A child may be taught that it is sinful not to honour his father but he may not be told it is human to feel resentment over his father's drunken aggressiveness towards his mother. Such a child may well be caught in a conflict between the goals of school and those of home. Teachers and parents have much to learn from one another although learning will not be effective unless they both recognise how much they have to learn. It is ironic that a boy's experience of an institution partly designed to help him adapt to meet the needs of society, that is, his experience of school, should apparently make it more difficult for him to meet such needs.

As regards the syndrome of personal maladjustment, the possibility of a role for minor brain damage in the development of delinquency should be noted. It was intended at the outset of the research to carry out electro-encephalograms

with the boys but circumstances precluded this. West and Farrington's result in the longitudinal Cambridge study shows little support for the significance of minor obstetric abnormalities among a normal working class sample in the development of delinquency. In contrast, however, a result from the National Child Development Study, a longitudinal survey of a birth cohort of 16,000 children, indicated that children extreme in either birth-weight or duration of pregnancy tended subsequently to be educationally subnormal, especially in the case of younger children in large families from the manual working groups (Davie, Butler and Goldstein, 1972). That study also indicated that when other relevant factors were controlled, abnormal duration of pregnancy was subsequently linked with poor social adjustment. In the separate sample of 107 delinquent referrals to a child-guidance clinic Hart and McQuaid (1974) found some evidence for a brain-damaged group. Follow-up studies of such at-risk children would have obvious value.

Syndromes D and E of Figure 1 suggest that delinquency begins at home. In syndrome E, separation experiences from parents seem the most important variables. In only a few cases was death the cause of separation. More often, the separation indicated some inadequacy in the family or delinquency on the part of a boy resulting in his committal to an institution.

Nothing in this report should be used to support the view that redistribution of income has little value as a measure to prevent family disturbance. Although there was evidence that only 4 boys stole because of sheer poverty, there is little doubt that poverty was a factor which exacerbated the level of family distress in many cases. Since alcoholism, usually of the father, was related to poverty, the effective financial help of delinquency-prone families would seem to entail an arrangement whereby relief money be paid to the more adequate parent. It should also be noted that poor families with delinquent children are a small fraction of poor families generally. Perhaps one-fifth of the children of Ireland live in poor families. Such children may not be delinquent but are often denied the chance of proper educational development.[7]

Over one-third of the sample were from families with more than eight children and the median number of children was seven. The parents had obviously made little effort to plan their families in a realistic manner, taking into consideration their income and social circumstances. Up to quite recently such parents were effectively prevented from purchasing contraceptives. With the proposed liberalisation of Irish laws relating to the purchase of contra-

[7]As international study, covering some twenty countries, confirms that educational achievement is directly related to the student's social circumstances, irrespective of differences in school organisation or resources or the qualification of teachers, cf. R. Thorndike, *Reading Comprehension Education in Fifteen Countries: An Empirical Study* (New York, 1973) and L. Comber and J. Keeves, *Science Education in Nineteen Countries: An Empirical Study* (New York, 1973). Furthermore, "If children from various social classes who have the same general intelligence are compared, differentials in chances to acquire an education still obtain" (Cloward and Ohlin, p. 102).

ceptives the situation may now improve in this regard. At the least, the element of conscious choice in the decision to have children should be increased. From this point of view the quality of life should be improved. On the other hand, the carelessness of poor parents who produce large numbers of children in very short periods says something about the parents' personalities. If such parents had smaller families, their children would probably still be at risk of delinquency.

A further caveat should be entered against any notion that this study shows the particular danger of delinquent gangs. The majority of probationers committed their probation offence in company but this merely goes to show the sociable nature of young people. The influence of delinquent friends as a factor in further delinquency was less than the influence of such factors as inadequate homes or personal maladjustment requiring attendance at a child-guidance clinic. In no case did the author discover the existence of gangs in which status was primarily determined by the degree of involvement in anti-social activities, to use the Cloward-Ohlin definition of a delinquent gang. The probation officers, it should be noted, were well aware of the virtual impossibility of keeping probationers in adjoining flats from seeing much of each other.

The primary purpose of this study has been to isolate important factors in the development of persistent young delinquents. Many of these boys will appear before the court as adults[8] and a substantial proportion may become life-long recidivists whose frequent violations of the law and imprisonments will impose a severe burden on the community. Others will probably become mentally ill and impose similar burdens. The results bear out the importance of family case work before the need to remove the boy from home becomes paramount. It would seem in many cases that probationers are past the stage where the help of a probationer officer, at least as it was available in the past, would be effective with them. On the other hand, it is doubtful that committal to a large institution would help. Committal seemed to make matters worse for the boys in the sample. What seems most needed is an effective system of family case work to identify and help families at risk before the child comes in collision with the law. This could be run by the local Health Board and work through community centres. It would work in close co-operation with voluntary bodies, schools and such institutions as maternity hospitals. In this way, information about children at risk could be pooled and acted on before the child was permanently damaged. At present it seems that a lot of useful information is

[8]Follow-up studies of boys *appearing in juvenile courts* suggest that a majority will be arrested for crimes as adults (cf. H. McKay, "Report on the Criminal Careers of Male Delinquents in Chicago", *Report of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice* (Washington, 1967, pp. 107–113). Follow-up studies of boys *picked up* by the police would show that the vast majority would not be arrested for crimes as adults (cf. Matza, pp. 22–26).

wasted because of a lack of effective communication. A child psychiatrist recently said to the author that it was possible to identify in a labour ward the child who would be a problem in a few years' time.Such information in the right hands could make a lifelong difference to the child at risk. There is need for a single Children's Department in each Health Board to co-ordinate all matters relating to the social education of children. Supplementing the family case work service and working closely with it should be well-trained probation officers with small case loads. The Michigan demonstration project (Ball, 1963) showed the effectiveness of probation as a correctional tool when trained probation officers are provided with competent leadership and manageable case loads. The author is glad to say that the number of probation workers and the quality of their training has improved greatly since this study began. There are at present 47 welfare service workers whose task it is to provide help and counselling to probationers and prisoners. A significant proportion of recent entrants to the welfare service have been graduates with training in social science or relevant social work experience and the present training programme consists of a minimum of nine weeks supplemented by fortnightly case conferences. Officers are encouraged to seek opportunities for post-graduate study and to become involved in community efforts to prevent or cope with problems of maladjustment. It is hoped to increase the number in the welfare service to seventy by the end of 1974. In addition, there has been experimentation with hostel care for probationers, an approach sorely needed for boys from strife-ridden homes, as so many of the present probationers were. If the degree of family conflict and disturbance is very great, it would seem necessary to remove a boy from his home to a hostel. Day-care centres might also be useful. Such hostels or centres would probably best be located in the youngster's local community and would constitute a home for him or her during periods of family stress. The single most important anti-delinquency measure, however, would seem to be the family casework service for younger children. West and Farrington (p. 129) show that it is possible by using teachers' ratings to predict a boy's future behaviour at the age of eight and many child-care workers feel it is possible to make accurate predictions long before that age. Kobrin (1961) reports that "at the ages of 9 and 10 five boys who came to constitute the core clique out of which the Eagles as a street gang ultimately emerged were known in the neighbourhood by residents, agency workers and teachers as a particularly troublesome and incorrigible lot". Gallacher (1974) points to the danger of society's intervention making a boy more anti-social than he already is by giving him a more delinquent self-image. Yet to be effective with some families, a family casework system would need to be supported by a legal provision requiring that a family co-operate with the social worker. A legal precedent for this is to be found in the possibility at present of bringing "cruelty" pro-

ceedings against a parent. Such a parent might be placed on probation on condition he or she co-operate with a family caseworker. In this way some few families who might not otherwise receive help would have to, at least, accept some visits from the social worker. The family casework system would need to be linked with a system of Children's Hearings as established in Scotland by the 1968 Act. Thus there would be a more "treatment" oriented approach to the child. The most important component of the system would of course be the social work personnel. As in the case of mental illness (Szasz, 1971), the "treatment" prescribed by society may exacerbate rather than heal. The approach of the social worker must aim at developing the family's ego-ideal, not the super-ego. To deny that the response of society, as for instance manifest in the social worker's approach, is irrelevant to the development of delinquency is tantamount to denying the existence of strong super-ego's and little self esteem among those who failed on probation. The recognition by CARE (1972) of the importance of the training of social work personnel is greatly to be welcomed.

The problems of those who failed seriously on probation would seem in many cases related to a lack of motivation. To be successful, a therapeutic programme must engender in these boys a more positive, outgoing attitude to life. It is not a simple matter of telling them how they should behave or for that matter punishing failure and rewarding success. Punishment will play into the boys' masochistic needs and provide them with another alibi for anti-social behaviour. There is evidence from the Cambridge-Somerville Study (McCord and McCord, pp. 38–40) that intensive family case work does prevent delinquency. Such case work, to be effective, should last for at least two years and involve weekly visits to the boy. The counsellor needs to form a very strong relationship with the boy (enabling him to talk about his relationship with his parents, his sexual feelings, attitude to authority and peers, feelings of guilt, anxiety or aggression), correct any obvious material, educational or medical handicaps of the boy and work with the family also.

If society is committed to preventing delinquency, it must be prepared to pay the price in terms of resources, financial and human. Of course not every boy who gets into trouble with the law is in need of intensive counselling, as the present study indicates. Moreover, the cost of providing an effective family case work service would be well outweighed by the attendant financial and social gains. If a welfare service officer costs the State about £2,500 per year and is instrumental in keeping 20 young offenders out of an institution, then the saving to the State is about £10,000 per year, assuming a State grant of about £12 per week to the institution for each inmate. There would be an additional saving in terms of non-State resources and the outlook for the young person in question would probably be much better. Savings to the State in

terms of prison costs would be much greater. In 1973–74 more than four and one-quarter million pounds was spent on the prison system (Estimates of the Prison Services, 1973/74, p. 55). In 1971 almost one-quarter of the number committed to prison had previously served more than five sentences of imprisonment. (Annual Report on Prisons for 1971, p. 27). Adult recidivists obviously cost the State a great deal. We might well copy the example of California which allots a certain sum of money to the probation service for each case successfully kept out of an institution by the service. It is estimated that in the period 1967–71 the State of California saved at least $126,000,000 by using the probation subsidy scheme (Hodgkin, 1973, p. 8).

The probation officers had to operate in the context of the judicial system as a whole. Apart from having to deal with large numbers of clients (a defect which should now have been eliminated through the increase in the number of officers) and the problems of an overcrowded court schedule, they sometimes had difficulty in gaining accurate information on a boy's previous record from the Criminal Record Office. A further complication was that a boy might have been convicted by an outlying court, for instance, Kilmainham or Howth, without the officer being apprised by the court of this. An over-burdened penal system was evident in the long delays before appeals were heard and there was at least one case of a boy under 15 who served a sentence in an adult jail. In spite of all these difficulties the officers persevered bravely at their task. One index of their expertise is the accuracy of their predictions for boys as noted in Part 7.

In Part 5 allegations, general and specific, about police violence are summarised. The boys who made these tended to be more nervous and have lower standards than the average. They were not more likely to fail so they were not more likely to be persistent delinquents. Thus there is no reason to suppose they were concocting charges. Since it is not a function of The Economic and Social Research Institute to carry out the type of inquiry needed, there was no way of verifying their accounts. Some of the alleged offences occurred in particular Garda stations where there would seem little excuse on grounds of provocation for such violence. One boy related how a particular guard put his cap against a boy's face and hit him so the boy would not be marked. Another spoke of how some guards drew a white line across the floor of a room in the station and told him they would beat him worse if he crossed the line. A third said the police wanted him to confess to being in a stolen car. When he wouldn't confess, "they ripped the whole side of my jacket and gave me four or five digs. They 'killed' another fellow. He was wearing a belt and they took it off him and one copper hit him with the belt, kept hitting him for about a quarter of an hour". The same policeman, it was claimed, made the probationer take off his shoes and socks and struck his toes

with a shoe. The wealth of detail makes it unlikely that the boys were fantasying, at least in the first and third instances where specific stations were named. Although there is nothing remarkable about the discovery that the police, like other authority figures, are human, police violence with youngsters is highly objectionable for a wide variety of reasons. Apart from being quite unconstitutional, it gives delinquents the idea that the upholders of the law are corrupt and thus provides another pretext for delinquency; it brutalises the police and it is quite ineffective as a deterrent to delinquency in view of the prior failure of corporal punishment by parents as a deterrent. Its general effect is probably to injure the already low self esteem of the boy. A much better approach would be to set up friendly links between Gardaí and boys in the context of youth clubs and similar organisations. At another level much could be gained by fostering links between Gardaí and such social work personnel as community health nurses.

Very few of the agencies in contact with the probationers seem to have much success in preventing delinquency. School attendance officers and youth clubs did not seem very successful. The small group who were made the focus of a concentrated effort by the probation officers did no better than could be expected. Previous stay in an institution or treatment at a child-guidance clinic made for a bad prognosis at placement on probation. In contrast, boys who had been placed within the juvenile liaison officer scheme did not have a particularly bad prognosis but, on the whole, high risks were not dealt with by the scheme. One positive, and therefore quite exceptional, result was that which indicated the value of technical or vocational school for older boys. What seems needed on the part of treatment personnel is a flexibility of approach and the willingness to experiment. Voluntary workers may be very useful if, under the guidance of an experienced worker, they approach the problem in an imaginative way. Such workers would help reduce the case loads of welfare officers and ensure the latter spent most of their time with more disturbed youngsters. They could also make a useful contribution to community organisation and thus help to prevent delinquency.[9]

The findings have considerable implications for personnel dealing with delinquent young people in institutions. The failures on probation tend to be emotionally immature, those who have not outgrown their dependency needs. The success in working with delinquents of such diverse father figures as Father Flanagan of Boystown and August Aicchorn of Vienna indicate these boys' unfulfilled dependency needs. Miller (1964, p. 179) describes in striking fashion the maternal dependency of ex-Borstal boys: in a rehabilitative hostel whenever the warden went on holiday, milk consumption rose dramatically

[9]It will be recalled from Part 1 that the level of community organisation was significantly related to outcome in the case of families where a parent had a drinking problem.

in the two weeks before her departure and fell immediately after she had gone when the boys' tensions had subsided. When a boy was arrested for larceny, milk consumption for the other boys rose to an all-time high; when his recall was ordered three weeks later, it again fell. Such boys may blend easily into the institutional background but outside the institution they lack the sense of self-identity to make their own way in life. Institutional staff should seek to "open up" their charges and continually challenge them with responsibility for their behaviour. The personal inadequacy of many young delinquents explains why a thoroughgoing group approach like that practised in Synanon in California may succeed with those who become very dependent on a group. This kind of approach, however, makes it difficult for the delinquent to fit back into the ordinary community and the "therapeutic milieu" approach of Maxwell Jones seems preferable if there is to be an attempt at long-term rehabilitation. Group work of the kind used in the Henderson Hospital in Surrey and pioneered by Maxwell Jones would seem to have a definite place in institutions for young offenders. Persons' result (1967), showing that institutionalised delinquents who had been given 40 group and 20 individual therapy sessions did better on release than others indicates that successful therapy is possible with quite serious delinquents within a penal setting. It is evident that the stigma of a prison does not make therapy impossible: the lack of an intensive psychiatric effort in prisons like Mountjoy jail cannot be defended on the grounds that the penal environment precludes successful psychotherapy. Perhaps the most striking evidence of the possibility of therapeutic success within a very secure environment is Sturup's (1968) work with dangerous and habitual offenders. This kind of study suggests that it is possible, to a far greater degree than many realise, to combine security with rehabilitation.

Since unconscious and neurotic guilt seems a factor in many serious young delinquents, the principle should be observed that sentencing does not increase destructive guilt feelings. With many delinquents a Community Service Order, requiring a youngster to carry out, say, one hundred hours of socially useful work over six months might be very therapeutic. The beneficial effect of the Community Service Volunteers scheme on ex-Borstal boys is clearly evident in Nancy Hodgkin's paper (1973)—"But it's where the boys are doing so badly that you feel 'well, this is the last chance' where you get the really big change—where a boy can come from a feeling of not belonging, not being needed, to a feeling of being part of society" (p. 22). Some thought should be given to the possibility of making community service a condition of the probation order.

The significance of a deeply religious approach has not so far been mentioned but it is the author's conviction that people with such an approach, since they are more concerned with absolutes than appearances, have much to offer in the rehabilitation of anti-social young people. A complete change of heart is needed

in the serious young delinquent, something amounting almost to a religious conversion. An essential religious principle, forgiveness of others and oneself for real or imaginary failings, is of vital relevance in the work of rehabilitation. The Christian emphasis on the ultimate dignity of each individual, no matter what his social status, is a dynamic corrective to the conventional, censorious approach. "Super-ego justice begins by taking away a person's dignity"[10] and the super-ego approach seems very common in conventional (and ineffective) reactions to delinquents. An appeal has to be made to the delinquent's ego-ideal and the distinction always maintained between super-ego guilt and the constructive experience of ego-guilt. The serious young delinquents were delinquent in the face of their severe super-ego's and, as the intropunitive need persistence scores suggest, because of them. For them it is not a straightforward matter of pleasure being the bait of vice, as Cicero suggests in "De Senectute", but punishment becoming the bait. Many children and some adults probably find covert pleasure in failing in order to spite others, but this masochism is rarely so destructive as in the case of delinquents. St. Paul's advice, "Be ye angry and sin not: let not the sun go down upon your wrath" (Ephesians, 5, 26, King James Version), is relevant to the persistent delinquents, particularly the younger ones. They need both self-acceptance and self-control.

In the long-run, rehabilitation of delinquents probably comes down to conveying to them a sense of a deeper spiritual reality than the reality of nine to five working life. Problems of organisation inevitably obtrude in this attempt, bringing with them power struggles within the treatment staff and the unconscious aggression of treatment personnel. The fact that the latent function of such institutions as mental hospitals so easily becomes punitive shows the need, for continual self-analysis among treatment personnel. Unorthodox approaches, for instance the Simon Community's effort, have the advantage that they start off with a strong, quasi-religious motivation but unless there is a continuing effort to analyse the motivations of staff such projects invariably lose their impact. Key members of staff in any project with a serious rehabilitative goal should have had a personal psychoanalysis and all members intensive training. These considerations apply to all who would seek to rehabilitate anti-social boys and girls through intensive personal contact. Whether they like it or not, such people are carrying out therapy in the sense that they become targets for the young person's hostility to authority. Unless they are convinced of the importance of fostering ego-defences among severely impunitive and intropunitive offenders, they will find it difficult to tolerate displays of hostility. They will be tempted to react by putting the lid on more firmly, thus making the youngster more difficult to get through to. Attendance at a one-year residential training course similar to that organised in Kilkenny at present

[10] I am indebted for this remark to Wilfred Bowell, psycho-analyst.

should be required on the part of those who wish to be seriously involved in the field. A proper career structure in social work, as emphasised by CARE, is very badly needed. It is hopelessly naïve to expect a retired and elderly person to be a good house parent in a hostel simply because he has done well in a particular calling. The idea that all that is needed is a bit of common sense has often been disproved. Derek Miller (p. 123) shows very clearly the complex abilities demanded of a member of staff in a hostel for delinquent boys—"The staff member had a personality which led him to relate to the boys in a somewhat judgemental manner, to prove that they had been 'good' or 'bad'. He found it hard to empathise with their feelings and understand their difficulties. To him such responses meant that one could not at the same time express or show disapproval, nor if one had authority, that one could exercise it". Further evidence of the relative ineffectiveness of people who do not know what to expect may be found in the difficulty of finding adequate foster parents for very delinquent children. Attempts to replace institutions with foster homes tend to encounter this difficulty, particularly in the case of older children.

I have used the term "ego-ideal" where some might use "will". "Ego-ideal" is used because of its suggestion of unconscious influences fostering ego-growth and a rational balance (in the broadest sense of "rational") within the personality. "Will" seems to connote a particular orientation of the self to the outside world. Secondly, "will" seems to suggest that personality can be radically altered by a single choice. I prefer the view that change comes only slowly, through the repetition of certain choices. The serious young delinquents are not entire masters of their will, it is only in time they can approach this state. An appeal to the ego-ideal, expressed mainly through a network of ego-supportive relationships and a certain emotional atmosphere, focuses the young delinquent's attention on himself. The rationale of this approach was long ago stated by the German psychologist, Ach, who stressed the importance of imagining strongly the type of person one wishes to be. Directing a youngster's attention to the damage his actions do to others and to the relationship between him and those others may strengthen super-ego guilt, but, I suggest, will not strengthen the ego in particular. Within himself the boy should be led to peruse his relationships with others. It is important to make him or her more aware of the conflicts within, in particular, of the split second of choice before the awareness of choice is blurred and integrity lost. The poet A.E. put it well—"Jesus was betrayed in the lost boyhood of Judas".

Appendix

Following are the correlations of 54 variables with outcome which is scored on a three-point scale, success—1, partial failure—2, complete failure—3. These are the variables which give rise to the Factors named in Table 33.

Variable	*Correlation with reconviction**
Age at placement on probation	—·01
Absence of previous conviction	—·10
Age of first conviction or caution	—·11
Probation officer's expectation of success*	—·36
Reference by parent to boy's improvement while on probation	—·31
Manual working group	·14
No difference between parents over discipline of boy	—·23
No evidence of psychiatric treatment of parent	—·14
No evidence of alcoholism in parent	—·11
Glueck score	·36
No evidence of other sibling in trouble with law	—·18
Good relation between parents*	—·24
Average period between children more than 2 years	—·16
Absence of poverty	—·31
Residence other than corporation flat	—·20
Mother's score CPI Responsibility†	—·14
Mother's score CPI Socialisation†	—·17
Separation from mother figure for not more than 2 months	—·22
Separation from father figure for not more than 2 months	—·25
Absence of physical dilapidation of area	—·11
Community organisation of area	—·15
Absence of gang influence in area	—·17
Delinquency rating of area low	—·06
Total criminogenic score of area low	—·17
Residence in area other than city centre	—·22
Rated by author as "unsocialised inhibited"	—·10
Rated by author as "socialised" delinquent	·28
Rated by author as "occasional" delinquent	—·15
Absence of previous psychological assessment or treatment	—·33
Absence of wandering from home*	—·21
Lack of many delinquent associates	—·27
Lack of close friend delinquent	·18
Committed probation offence in company	—·16
Verbal regret for offences*	—·13
No prior stay in institution other than hospital for at least one month	—·28
No prior stay in hospital for at least one month	—·01
Evidence of migraine	—·04
Dangerous or powerful creature identified with	·03
Perception of life as happy	·07
Author's prediction non-delinquent for immediate future	—·28

Author's prediction non-delinquent for long-term future	—·28
CTP SOCIAL STANDARDS†	—·11
CTP SOCIAL SKILLS†	—·14
CTP FREEDOM FROM ANTI-SOCIAL TENDENCIES†	—·13
CTP FAMILY RELATIONS†	—·03
CTP SCHOOL RELATIONS†	·01
English comprehension*	—·21
Arithmetic comprehension*	—·21
IQ*	—·20
Neuroticism (NJMI)*	·17
Perception that father had been missed (DAS)	·19
Perception of parental quarrels (DAS)	·11
Perception that drink made trouble at home (DAS)	·07
Mother's perception of own childhood adversity	·20

Note: Where $n = 150$, a correlation of ·16 is significant at the ·05 level and a correlation of ·21 is significant at the ·01 level. Variables in most cases are dichotomised; *indicates three score categories, †four score categories.

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